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CHAMBERS'S

PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

RAILWAY COMMUNICATIONS.

BEFORE the days of Semiramis, whose highways are among the first mentioned in history; or the times when Roman way-wrights constructed thoroughfares as durable as their language, or Onund of Norway earned his title of 'road-maker,' or Macadam proved the virtue of broken granite, mankind could not have failed to perceive that in proportion to the smoothness and levelness of the ground over which they journeyed, so was the speed, ease, and comfort of travelling. 'Make the paths straight,' must have been a precept of peculiar significance in an age when paths were the only routes: and we can easily imagine that the maker of a road would be regarded with not less of reverent gratitude than he who 'dugged a well.' Such insight as we get into remote antiquity shews us that the earliest nations—in the 'far east,' and in the countries bordering the Mediterranean—had mastered the rudiments of road-making, and shaped them into a completeness not far removed from science. The Romans, borrowing the idea of paved roads from the Carthaginians, set to work with that practical common sense which characterised them, and constructed roads from their capital city to every quarter of their mighty empire. With them a chief point was to have the roads straight and level; they understood too well the importance and advantage of facile means of transit and communication, and with singular skill and boldness they pierced or excavated hills, built bridges and viaducts, and raised embankments, remarkable alike for their extent and their durability. In Italy alone there were several thousand miles of public highways; of these the 'Queen of Roads,' or 'Appian Way,' 142 miles in length, is the most noteworthy. It was constructed by Appius Claudius 310 years before the birth

of Christ; and Procopius, writing in the sixth century, says of it:—‘To traverse the Appian Way is a distance of five days’ journey for a good walker, and it leads from Rome to Capua; its breadth is such that two chariots may meet upon it and pass each other without interruption; and its magnificence surpasses that of all other roads. For constructing this great work, Appius caused the materials to be fetched from a great distance, so as to have all the stones hard and of the nature of millstones, such as are not to be found in this part of the country. Having ordered this material to be smoothed and polished, the stones were cut in corresponding angles, so as to fit together in joinings without the intervention of copper or any other material to bind them, and in this manner they were so firmly united, that in looking at them one would say they had not been put together by art, but had grown so upon the spot; and notwithstanding the wear of so many ages—being traversed daily by a multitude of vehicles and all sorts of cattle—they still remain unmoved; nor can the least trace of ruin or waste be observed upon these stones, neither do they appear to have lost any of their beautiful polish; and such is the Appian Way.’

Much of this description remains true even at the present day; and the road, after the lapse of more than 2000 years still presents an instructive model to the modern artificer.

With the exception of the Roman highways, the public thoroughfares in England scarcely deserved the name of roads. During the period of Saxon rule, and down to the Stuarts, they were mere tracks across the country, patched with rude paving in the softer places, and ‘very noisome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to all passengers and carriages,’ as declared in the act imposing ‘statute labour’ for the repair of the highways in the reign of Mary. The labour when performed was capricious, not systematic: people mended such portions as traversed their farms or estates, and left the rest to take care of itself.

The first attempts at real improvement may be considered as dating from the passing of the first turnpike act in 1653, of which the preamble stated that parts of the great north road leading to York and Scotland were ‘very ruinous and become almost impassable, inasmuch that it is become very dangerous to all his majesty’s liege people that pass that way.’ In the reign of Charles II. the taking of tolls was first established on a turnpike-road leading from Hertfordshire to the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge. So slow, however, was the progress of improvement, that the roads throughout the country were but little changed for the better during the next hundred years; many became worse, and some which had been wide were narrowed by encroachments and neglect. According to Stow, wagons were in use on some roads for the conveyance of goods and passengers as early as 1541, but the most of the traffic was carried on by means of pack-horses, which, tethered together in long trains, made their way slowly and painfully along the causeways, and whoever met them was obliged to step off into the mire on either side to get out of their way. ‘The people of Kendal,’ says Roger North, writing in 1676, ‘could write to most trading towns and have answers by the packs—for all is horse-carriage—with returns—time being allowed—as certain as by the post.’ In 1609 to send a letter from York to Oxford, and get back an answer, took a whole month, and even after the establishment of the post in 1660 correspondence was

but little expedited. The introduction of coaches, asserted a writer of the day, would ruin the country; the wagons mentioned by old Stow were advocated as 'travelling easily, without jolting men's bodies or hurrying them along,' which the obnoxious coaches did, at four miles an hour. In 1673 travellers were kept a week on the road between London and Exeter, the fare being 40s. in summer and 45s. in winter: the same fare was charged from London to Chester or York. In 1678 a six-horse coach took six days to perform the journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow. At the end of the seventeenth century the stage-coach with six horses occupied two days in the journey from London to Cambridge, fifty-seven miles; and fifty years later the journey to Oxford consumed the same time. Travelling by night was first introduced about 1740, not without opposition from those who foresaw ruin in any departure from old practice. Hogarth's picture, 'The Country Inn Yard,' brings before us the ordinary coach of the period. It underwent alterations from time to time as fancy or convenience dictated. In 1750 the 'Alton and Farnham Machine' was started with a wicker-basket slung behind for the outside passengers.

In the present day a man goes to Constantinople and back as an ordinary pleasure trip calling for no especial remark. Not so a century ago. It was not uncommon at that period for people whose business led them from the Scottish to the English metropolis to make their wills before starting. The journey was indeed a formidable one, as may be gathered from an advertisement in the 'Edinburgh Courant' for 1758, stating that, with God's permission, the coach would 'go in ten days in summer and twelve in winter:' a man may now breakfast in London and sup in Edinburgh, 400 miles distant, without undergoing severe fatigue, or sitting up to a late hour, and if so inclined, may cross over to New York in less time than was formerly consumed between the two cities. In 1765 a 'flying-coach,' drawn by eight horses, travelled from London to Dover in a day, fare 21s.

Arthur Young's experiences during his 'Tour' in 1770 furnish conclusive evidence as to the condition of the roads at a still later date. He was travelling in Lancashire, a county now among those best furnished with railways, and says: 'I know not, in the whole range of language, terms sufficiently expressive to describe this infernal road. To look over a wisp, and perceive that it is a principal one, not only to some towns, but even whole counties, one would naturally conclude it to be at least decent: but let me most seriously caution all travellers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible county to avoid it as they would the devil, for a thousand to one but they break their necks or their limbs by overthrows or breakings-down. They will here meet with ruts, which I actually measured, four feet deep, and floating with mud, only from a wet summer--what, therefore, must it be after a winter? The only mending it receives in places is the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no other purpose but jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner. These are not merely opinions, but facts; for I actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory.' This was not the only instance of bad roads that Young met with; he came upon others farther north, and denounces them in language equally emphatic.

On the eve of the nineteenth century travelling was still slow. Mr

Porter states, that he 'well remembers leaving the town of Gosport (in 1798) at one o'clock of the morning in the *Telegraph*, then considered a fast coach, and arriving at the Golden Cross, Charing-Cross, at eight in the evening; thus occupying nineteen hours in travelling eighty miles, being at the rate of rather more than four miles an hour.'

The time, however, had come for a change; and Telford and Macadam, by their improvements in road-making, prepared the way for more rapid locomotion. The insurrections in Scotland in '15 and '45 led to the formation of numerous roads which penetrated the wildest districts of the Highlands, extending altogether to nearly 1000 miles in length. In these, real principles of construction were acted on, and the system of maintenance developed which gave to us the best roads in the world. In 1815 Telford commenced that grand memorial of his ability—the Holyhead Road; a work that may safely be contrasted with the most famous highways of antiquity, regard being had to smoothness of motion; and though no longer required for the service of the mail, its preservation will, we hope, be diligently cared for by those to whose charge it is intrusted. The establishment of this road effected an important change in our communication with Ireland. 'Previous to 1815, the sailing-packets which plied between Dublin and Holyhead were often tossed for several days in a stormy sea; and when the passengers had completed their miserable voyage, they were landed upon rugged, unprotected rocks, from whence they proceeded by miserable tracts of road, composed of a succession of circuitous and craggy inequalities, for twenty-five miles, across the Island of Anglesey to the Menai Strait—a troublesome and dangerous tidal ferry, over which the mail and other coaches could not be passed in boisterous weather.' Telford carried his road across this strait by means of the famous suspension-bridge which was opened in January 1826, the first stone having been laid in August 1819. It is 1710 feet long, contains 4,373,282 lbs. of iron, or 2186 tons, and cost, with the approaches, £120,000.

The prime object kept in view was to diminish friction, to render draught as easy as possible, and these desiderata were attained. Macadam, about 1816, began to shew that to spread a layer of broken granite over the natural soil, properly prepared and levelled, was the best mode of forming a permanent and serviceable road; and his principles were actively reduced to practice in nearly all parts of the kingdom. The impulse once given, further improvements were continually sought after, and the result was a system of highways, of hard granite roads, as near perfection as mechanical and engineering science could make them. In some places 'granite tracks,' or 'stone tramways,' were laid down, and wherever tried, the result proved in favour of facility of transit. They had long been in use in the streets of Milan; and on Dartmoor a stone trackway was laid for twenty miles, from the quarries to Plymouth. A granite line was also laid from London towards the East India Docks along the Commercial Road; the Forth and Clyde Canal Company made use of iron for a similar purpose; and slate was employed in other quarters, but there was no difference in the results. One horse on the level track could do as much work as four on a common road. The advantage gained was so striking, that a proposal was made to lay granite tracks on the slopes of all the highways in the kingdom, as a certain remedy against the difficulty of ascending them.

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In 1840 the total length of turnpike-roads in England and Wales was about 25,000 miles, which had been kept up during the preceding five years at an annual cost of £989,545, or £45 per mile—£36 having been expended in the usual repairs, and £9 on improvements. In addition to these items, the charge for management was nearly £6, also yearly. There were 1116 trusts, 7796 toll-gates and side-bars, and 1300 surveyors. Besides the turnpikes, the extent of other highways, 'parish roads,' was nearly 105,000 miles, maintained at a cost of £11, 3s. per mile yearly.

It was along the chief of these thoroughfares that, up to a recent period, travelling by mail or stage coach was prosecuted with such spirit and regularity as to make the roads a scene of continued animation and excitement. In 1837 licences were granted to 3026 stage-coaches, of which 1507 went to or from London, besides 103 mail-coaches. The number of passengers per year about the period in question has been estimated at 2,000,000. The conveyance of these gave movement to a system of traffic unequalled in any part of the world. In no other country was there such promptitude, such celerity of transit; and in fine weather there was real enjoyment in sitting behind the four spirited horses, which, in their compact and well-kept harness, trotted along the roads at a speed varying from seven to ten miles an hour: and for the leisurely traveller the top of a stage-coach presented advantages for viewing scenery which constitute no part of railway accommodation. There was time to discuss the merits of a ruin or a landscape; the appearance and disappearance of one and the other were not then, as now, simultaneous; and conversation could be carried on with a chance of its being heard. Then there was variety in the road itself: now traversing a well-cultivated vale, curving in and out among pastures and corn-fields, at times pleasantly overshadowed by trees; anon rising over a hill, descending into a valley, skirting or crossing a running stream, penetrating at times the most picturesque parts of the land; going through—not past—towns and villages, where people ran to their doors and windows to see the vehicle speed by, and gazed after it with a feeling of pride as long as it remained in view. The traveller then could make himself acquainted with much that was interesting along his line of route, and carry away a definite impression of the scenes which had passed before his eyes.

But there were drawbacks: exposure to wet or inclement weather; the rapacity of innkeepers who purveyed for travellers; that of their servants; and the fees to coachmen and guards, exercised and levied without compunction, and often with incivility; oppressive to all compelled to submit thereto, but more especially to persons of slender means.

And further: how few of the latter class could afford to travel by stage-coach. The broad-wheeled wagon, creeping on at the snail's pace of three miles an hour, or the canal-boat, oftentimes as slow, was their only resource. In either of these the journey from London to Manchester occupied a week; and yet, with all their tedium and misery, they were much more resorted to by respectable people of scanty means than is commonly known or believed in the present day.

But what travelling was ten years ago is, and becomes more and more, matter of history. Except in little-frequented parts of the country stage-coaches and wagons have disappeared. Having superseded less perfect

machinery, they in turn were set aside by a power more in accordance with the aims and requirements of the age.

From the roads of the past we turn to the roads of the present. What was the origin of the latter? According to certain writers we should find it by a study of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. Something, however, more to the purpose than hieroglyphs occurs in Roger North's book, already quoted: 'Another remarkable thing,' says Roger, referring to the neighbourhood of Newcastle-on-Tyne, 'is their *way-leaves*; for when men have pieces of ground between the colliery and the river they sell leave to load coals over their ground; and so dear that the owner of a rood of ground will expect £20 per annum for this leave. The manner of the carriage is by laying rails of timber from the colliery down to the river exactly straight and parallel, and bulky carts are made with four rowlets fitting these rails, whereby the carriage is so easy that one horse will draw down four or five chaldron of coals, and is an immense benefit to the coal-merchants.' This account, as is obvious, refers to a mode of transport already established, and we may believe that similar contrivances would sooner or later be made available in other districts; but we meet with no subsequent instance until 1738, when a railway was laid down from Cockenzie to the coal-pits of Tranent, across the ground on which, some years later, the Highlanders put General Cope to flight, and won the famous battle of Prestonpans. A portion of the line, which may still be traced, was selected as a position for the English cannon. About the same time iron trams were laid down at the Whitehaven collieries. The practice had been, as described by Roger North, to make the rails of wood, and fix them parallel on cross-pieces called sleepers, embedded in the earth. Thin plates of iron were sometimes nailed on to protect those parts most exposed to wear—a precaution which could scarcely have failed to suggest the idea of rails made entirely of iron. These were first introduced at Coalbrookdale, where, in order to keep the furnaces at work during a slack season, a number of bars five feet long, four inches wide, and one and a half inches thick, were cast to be used as rails instead of wood, with the intention of taking them up for sale in case of a sudden demand.

The difficulty of keeping the wheels from slipping off was urged as an objection against the use of these rails, and obviated some years afterwards, in 1776, by casting rails with an upright flange or guide at one side. These being nailed to wooden sleepers, or, as subsequently, to blocks of stone, the two flanges kept the wheels in place, and kept the wagons from running off the track. The form, however, presented certain inconveniences: dirt accumulated in the angle, and 'edge rails' were substituted, which, with modifications, have ever since remained in use. Those laid down at Lord Penrhyn's quarries were oval in form, with the narrow edge upwards, in lengths of four and a half feet, and kept in place by a solid dovetail block cast on the lower edge, and fitted into an iron sleeper underneath. A flange on either side of the tire prevented any deviation of the wheels; and 'the saving of power was such, that two horses regularly drew a train of twenty-four wagons, each containing about a ton; and ten horses were found sufficient to conduct a traffic which had, on a common road, required 400.'

Another form of rail, in section resembling a T, came into use in the

northern mining districts. The descending portion was cast with a gradual sweep—technically, 'fish-bellied'—from end to end, to give strength between the bearings. With this was first used the 'chair'—a supporter made of cast-iron, which, being fixed to the sleepers, received and held each lap-joint of the rails. The wheels were kept from running off by a flange on the inner edge of the tire, while the shape of the rail was such as to prevent any lodgment of dirt on the surface. But in all these rails there was one essential defect—their liability to break; a defect that still remained, notwithstanding the attempts to overcome it by increasing the weight of the casting; and a fatal one, had wrought-iron not been available. Rails of this material were laid down in 1808, but proved unsuitable, owing to their square form, the only one in which they could then be manufactured; and it was not until 1820, when Mr Birkenshaw produced rails by a process of rolling—a species of wire-drawing on a stupendous scale—that the difficulty was overcome. Since then the texture of rails has been as remarkable for toughness and elasticity as it was formerly for rigidity and brittleness.

Gradually iron roads grew into use in coal-fields and the mineral districts in the northern and midland counties; and by the close of the tenth year of the present century there were more than 150 miles in South Wales. The first well-ascertained attempt to take a systematic commercial view of their utility was made in 1800, by Dr James Anderson, in a periodical entitled 'Recreations in Agriculture.' He proposed to construct railways by the side of the turnpike-roads, so as to follow the ordinary levels and lines of traffic: to commence with the highway from London to Bath. Where the road ascended a hill, the level was to be sought by going round its base, constructing a viaduct or piercing a tunnel; and so carefully are these contingencies discussed, that, with the exception of horses being the moving power, the doctor's plans and arguments might be almost literally adopted in a railway prospectus of the present day. One point particularly insisted on was, that the lines should be managed by government commissioners, not by companies, who would unite monopoly with speculation; and should 'be kept open and patent to all alike who shall choose to employ them, as the king's highway, under such regulations as it shall be found necessary to subject them by law.' No immediate result followed the publication of these views; no one had then thought of railways independent of other thoroughfares, and to border the latter by iron routes was a scheme too impracticable to be entertained.

Two years later, in March 1802, a communication from Mr R. L. Edgeworth appeared in 'Nicholson's Journal,' calling attention to the same subject. To quote the writer's words, he had many years before 'formed the project of laying iron railways for baggage-wagons on the great roads of England,' but having been met by numerous and powerful objections, he had despaired of success. Among these was urged the first cost, and the continual charge for repairs. To obviate the latter, he proposed, instead of an enormous load in one car, to divide the burden among several smaller cars, whereby the wear of the rails would be materially diminished. Models of these cars had been presented to the Society of Arts in 1768, and their inventor rewarded with a gold medal. In 1788 he made four other carriages, with cast-iron wheels working on friction rollers, and used

them for some time on a wooden railway to convey lime for agricultural purposes.

To test the merits of his plan, Edgeworth suggested that four lines of railway might be laid on ten or twelve miles of one of the great roads leading from the metropolis. The rails were to be made hollow from the bottom upwards, for strength and to save expense; broad at bottom, and rounded at the top, to prevent the lodgment of dirt and dust; and fixed to sleepers of stone, so that their upper surface should stand about four inches above the road. On these should run light wagons, each containing not more than one ton and a half weight. The two inner tracks were to be for goods, the two outer ones for passenger-carriages, to travel in either direction, and when they met, turn off by sidings to the wagon-way. To obviate all difficulty with respect to the wheels of public or private vehicles, they were to be placed on 'cradles or platforms,' fitted and constructed to run on the rails. The horses that brought the carriage would drag it on to the cradle, or truck, as it would now be called, and, descending at the opposite end, draw it along the line—stage-coaches, six miles an hour, with one horse; hackney-coaches, eight miles; and with the greatest ease and safety, by night as well as by day.

Hills were to be avoided by making a circuit; but a perfect level was not absolutely insisted on: no insurmountable objection existed to 'a rise of one foot in ten.' Another part of the plan was the employment of steam-power with stationary engines, with which it would be 'not impossible, by *slight circulating chains*, like those of a jack running upon rollers, to communicate motion between small steam-engines, placed at a considerable distance from each other; to these chains carriages might be connected at will, and, when necessary, they might instantaneously be detached.'

There is yet another name connected with the development of our railway system which must not be passed over—that of Thomas Gray, a native of Leeds. He was in Belgium in 1813, when, hearing that a canal had been projected to connect the coal-field of that country with the frontier of Holland, he very earnestly recommended to Mr Cockerill, with whom he was acquainted, the making of a railway instead. His mind had been for some time directed to the subject; and in 1818 he shewed to his friends manuscript '*Observations on a Railroad for the whole of Europe*,' and soon after returned to England for the purpose of making his schemes public. In 1820 he published a seven-and-sixpenny octavo, which went through five editions in five years, entitled '*Observations on a General Iron Railway, or Land Steam Conveyance, to Supersede the Necessity of Horses in all Public Vehicles: shewing its vast Superiority in every Respect over the present Pitiful Methods of Conveyance by Turnpike-Roads and Canals.*' In this work, among advantages to result from the new system, Gray shewed that fish, vegetables, agricultural and other perishable produce might be rapidly carried from place to place; that two post deliveries in the day would be feasible; and that insurance companies would be able to promote their own interests by keeping railway fire-engines, ready to be transported to the scene of a conflagration at a moment's warning.

The cost of construction Gray calculated at £12,000 a mile. He was decidedly in favour of direct lines by the shortest course. His plan

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included a trunk-line straight from London to Plymouth and Falmouth, minor lines to Portsmouth, Bristol, Dover, and Harwich, with an offset from the latter to Norwich; a trunk-line also from London to Birmingham and Holyhead, another to Edinburgh by Nottingham and Leeds, and secondary lines from Liverpool to Scarborough, from Birmingham to Norwich; in short, his system, remarkable for its simplicity, comprehended all the important towns of the kingdom, and in many respects is preferable to that which now prevails. His plan for Ireland had a grand trunk-line from Dublin to Derry, another to Kinsale, and by lesser lines ramifying from these he connected all the chief towns of the island with the capital.

Whatever effect Gray's persevering labours may have had in directing attention to the subject of railways, in suggesting views to others, he himself gained neither reward nor honour. His late years were passed in obscurity as a dealer in glass on commission at Exeter, in which city he died in October 1848, at the age of sixty-one. He deserves not to be forgotten.

These statements embody interesting evidence of the germination of ideas and the growth of intelligence: the time was coming for maturer aims and increased powers of realising them.

The first authorisation of a railway by act of parliament is said to have been that of the Surrey Railway — an iron track laid from Merstham to Wandsworth in 1809; and of a short line from Cheltenham to Gloucester. Both have since become adjuncts or portions of other and grander lines.

In September 1825 a railway was opened which led from the mines near Darlington to the wharfs on the Tees at Stockton—the whole distance about twenty miles—for the transport of coal. At first the wagons were drawn by horses; and such was the effect of easy carriage, that the price of coal at Stockton fell from 18s. to 8s. 6d. per ton; lead was carried from the interior to the ships at greatly reduced rates; and a brisk trade in lime sprung up which had not before existed. Shortly after the opening two coaches were placed on the line for the conveyance of passengers—large, roomy vehicles, to carry twenty-six persons as a regular load, and in extraordinary cases half as many more, an addition which in no way interfered with the speed of the journey. They had no springs, and were intended to run backwards or forwards without being turned. A block of wood made to press against the tire of the wheels by means of an iron lever within reach of the driver enabled him to check the motion or stop suddenly when required. Ten miles an hour was the usual speed, and seemed scarcely to require an effort from the single horse that drew the load, so seldom was there any strain on the traces; and the smooth and equable motion of the coach was a constant theme of congratulation among the passengers. The line originally consisted of but a single pair of rails, with sidings at frequent intervals, at which vehicles or coal-trains passed each other. The fare from Stockton to Darlington—twelve miles—was 2s. for the inside and half that sum for the outside. Traffic became so lively between the two towns, owing to the facility of transit, that in the first year the proprietors returned £500. 'An intercourse,' as was said, 'and trade seemed to arise out of nothing, and no one knew how; and altogether the circumstance of bustle and activity which appeared along the line, with crowds of passengers going and returning, formed a matter

of surprise to the whole neighbourhood. Similar results have been observed elsewhere, wherever legitimate enterprise and not wild speculation has been brought into play.

In the following year, two of Stephenson's locomotives were employed in the coal transport on the line in addition to the horses. It was no uncommon sight to see one of these engines drawing behind it a train of loaded wagons, weighing ninety-two tons, at the rate of five miles an hour. In those days, steam-whistles had not yet come into use; and the firemen, to give notice of their approach after nightfall, threw up high into the air, from time to time, a shovelful of red-hot cinders, which could be seen at a considerable distance by those moving in the opposite direction. Without a load the speed of the engines was not unfrequently fifteen miles an hour—a most exhilarating rate of travelling, which at that period was regarded as little less than marvellous.

The year 1825 marks one of those periods in history when the speculative mania, always present in a commercial community, and more or less active, suddenly burst into delirium: projects, however visionary, were eagerly taken up; shares in ideal mines were bought and sold with marvellous celerity; and thousands became dupes of their own folly or thirst for gain. Everything was to be done by steam: by means of coal-gas, people were to ride among the clouds at the rate of forty miles an hour, and whirl along a turnpike-road at the rate of twelve miles an hour, having relays, at every fifteen miles, of bottled gas instead of relays of horses.' A writer of the day remarks: 'this nondescript gas-breathing animal, something of the velocipede family, is intended to crawl over the ground by protruding from behind it six or eight legs on either side in alternate succession.' And referring to the numerous schemes then put forward for railways, he continues: 'nothing now is heard of but railroads; the daily papers teem with notices of new lines of them in every direction, and pamphlets and paragraphs are thrown before the public eye, recommending nothing short of making them general throughout the kingdom.' All the great towns of the north were to be connected by railways: Liverpool with Birmingham, Birmingham with London, London with Dover. The ironmasters—trade being slack, and having an eye to business—had the credit of fostering the speculative spirit for their own interests. 'All physical obstructions,' as Telford said, 'were forgotten or overlooked amid the splendour of the gigantic undertakings.'

Real enterprise was, however, steadily pursuing its aim amid all the excitement. Application had been made to parliament for leave to lay down a railway from Liverpool to Manchester—a work then become indispensable to those two increasing and important towns. At that period, and for some time afterwards, canal-boats, and slow, heavy road-wagons were the only available means for the transport of heavy goods or bulky merchandise. The charge for conveyance from London to Yorkshire amounted frequently to £13 per ton, and even at this high cost the service was very imperfect. Beneficial as canals had proved they were becoming inadequate to the growing requirements of trade. Besides the road there were two canals for the traffic between Liverpool and Manchester, the distance by the latter fifty-five miles, and the carriage of goods in some instances £2 per ton. Manchester was so entirely dependent on Liverpool

for supplies of raw material, and the saving of time in transport so much an object, that any measure for an additional route was more a necessity than a speculation. It was notorious that goods were frequently conveyed from Liverpool to New York in less time than to Manchester. To make a third canal was impossible, as the district afforded no more water than sufficed for the two already existing. A thousand tons of merchandise were sent daily between the two towns, and produced a yearly revenue of £200,000 to the carriers. On one of the canals the profits were so great that the proprietors received the amount of their original outlay every alternate year.

Reasonable compliance with their wishes would have satisfied the merchants, who sought only to secure prompt and certain means of transport, not to depreciate canal property. Failing in their object, a railway, which had from time to time been talked about, was again discussed. The 'Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company' was formed, and their prospectus issued in 1824. In the following year the bill came before parliament, and there encountered all the opposition which selfishness could invent or ignorance employ, as may be seen in the parliamentary records of the session. The bill, however, was successfully carried in 1826.

Some years before the Duke of Bridgewater, on hearing the remark: 'You must be making handsomely out with your canals,' replied, somewhat chafed: 'O yes—they will last my time; but I don't like the look of these tram-roads: there's mischief in them.' The mischief—if such it was—was about to be realised. The duke's agent was conferred with on the subject of the railway, and an offer made him of shares, which he met by the churlish answer: 'All or none.' To us in the present day it may not be uninteresting to consider some of the forms under which the spirit of opposition strove to effect its purpose.

Canal proprietors were among the first to bestir themselves: they consulted Telford 'as to the most advisable manner of protecting their property;' and the enlargement and extension of the Birmingham and Liverpool, and the Ellesmere canals, were recommended by the eminent engineer as a preliminary measure. To understand the value of this recommendation we must remember that at the period in question railways were generally considered as subordinate or accessory to canals—not as a new resource destined to supersede them.

The legislature even was not exempt from incredulity, to choose a mild term. Stephenson's assertion, during his examination before a committee of the House, that it would not be difficult to make a locomotive travel fifteen or twenty miles an hour, provoked one of the members to reply that the engineer could only be fit for a lunatic asylum. If the opposition were to be believed, the laying down of a railway would inevitably reduce the value of land through which it passed, and landholders, by gradual though sure decline, be brought to the verge of ruin. As a million horses would be thrown out of service, no one of course would care about keeping up the breed; and not only were good horses to become as rare as peacocks, but the 8,000,000 acres of land that produced the oats were to return to a state of nature. A Quarterly Reviewer wrote: 'As to those persons who speculate on making railways general throughout the kingdom, and

superceding all the canals, all the wagons, mail and stage coaches, post-chaises, and, in short, every other mode of conveyance by land and by water, we deem them and their visionary schemes unworthy of notice. The gross exaggerations of the powers of the locomotive steam-engine, or, to speak in plain English, the *steam-carriage*, may delude for a time, but must end in the mortification of those concerned. How ridiculous this reads now to us, who see how completely the results are at variance with the confident predictions! and equally ridiculous will our ignorance and prejudice appear to those who come after us.

Parliamentary sanction once obtained, the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad Company set to work upon their novel and important undertaking—novel, inasmuch as its scheme and magnitude exceeded all that had been previously attempted of a similar nature. Stephenson, who had already won a reputation, was appointed engineer, and a chief point determined on was that the line should be as nearly as possible straight between the two towns. In the carrying out of this design the series of 'engineering difficulties' was first encountered, the overcoming of which has called forth an amount of scientific knowledge, of invention, ingenuity, and mechanical hardihood unprecedented in the history of human labour. Hills were to be pierced or cut through, embankments raised, viaducts built, and four miles of watery and spongy bog converted into a hardened road.

The drainage and solidification of this bog—or Chat Moss, its local name—were among the first operations. It was too soft to be walked on with safety, and in some places an iron rod laid on the surface would sink by its own weight. An embankment twenty feet in height was commenced, and had been carried some distance across the treacherous soil, when the whole sunk down and disappeared; and not until many thousand tons of earth had been deposited and swallowed up was a secure foundation obtained. At the softest part, known as the 'flow-moss,' hurdles thickly interwoven with heath were laid down, and upon these the earth and gravel for the permanent way. The successful formation of this part of the line was looked upon at the time as no unworthy triumph over physical obstacles. It was but the precursor of still greater enterprises.

Another great work was the tunnel under Liverpool, forming a direct passage to the docks without interfering with the streets. Its length is 2250 yards—nearly a mile and a half—the width 22 feet, and height 16 feet, and for greater part of the distance it pierces the solid red sandstone rock of the district. It was begun in 1826, and finished in September 1828, at a cost of £34,791. Besides this there is a tunnel of smaller dimensions, 290 yards in length, leading to the passenger-station, situated in the higher parts of Liverpool at some distance from the docks.

A more than ordinary interest attaches to the history of these works, from the fact of their being the first of the kind: suffice it, however, to state, that sixty-three bridges were built at different parts of the line, most of them of stone and brick. Two capacious tunnels were excavated, and six cuttings through elevations, out of which were taken more than 3,000,000 cubic yards of earth, stone, and gravel. These materials were used in the formation of embankments, for bridges, and other masonry. The double line of rails weighed 3847 tons, and the chairs which held

them in place 1428 tons; and the total cost amounted to £820,000—four times more than had been estimated.

During the execution of the works a question of considerable importance had to be decided: whether horses, stationary steam-engines, or locomotives, should be the tractive power. A high rate of speed, if not impossible, was, as we have seen, considered unsafe, otherwise the employment of animals would hardly have been thought of. The first two, however, were soon set aside; and early in 1829, when the works of the railway were well advanced, the directors advertised a prize of £500 for the best locomotive engine. The stipulations were, that it should draw at least three times its own weight—the latter limited to six tons—and be supported on springs, and not exceed fifteen feet in height; that it should be worked at a maximum pressure of fifty pounds to the inch, make no smoke, and travel, with its load, not less than ten miles an hour. The appearance of the advertisement elicited afresh the shafts of ridicule, as well as the strictures of practical men. Mr Nicholas Wood, in his '*Traité on Railroads*,' says: 'It is far from my purpose to promulgate to the world that the ridiculous expectations, or rather *professions*, of the *enthusiastic speculator*, will be realised, or that we shall see engines travelling at the rate of twelve, sixteen, eighteen, or twenty miles an hour. Nothing could do more harm towards their general adoption than the promulgation of such nonsense.'

Having now come to the period when the locomotive engine figures prominently in railway history, we must take a brief survey of the origin and development of this important and interesting invention. Excepting the machines made for Kanghi—to be hereafter mentioned—Leupold's appears to have been the earliest steam-engine applicable to locomotive purposes; but the first practical idea of applying steam-power to wheeled carriages is due to Dr Robison, by whom it was communicated to Watt in 1759. Some time afterwards the latter made a model of a high-pressure locomotive, and described its principle in his fourth patent in 1784, which, among certain improvements, specified 'a portable steam-engine, and machinery for moving wheel-carriages.' Watt, however, had doubts as to the safety of his machine, and mentioned the subject to one of his friends, Murdoch, who three years afterwards constructed a model of a locomotive which proved the correctness of the previous calculations. 'This engine,' we are told, 'was made in 1787, and persons are still alive who saw it in that year drive a small wagon round a room at his house at Redruth, in Cornwall. Among those who saw it was Richard Trevithick, who, in 1802, took out a patent for a similar invention.'

Singularly enough, a similar model was exhibited the same year at the opposite end of the kingdom. Symington's locomotive was then shewn in the house of Mr Gilbert Meason at Edinburgh. He pursued the experiment, and in 1795 worked a steam-engine on a line of turnpike-road in Lanarkshire and the adjoining county. Then followed that by Trevithick and Vivian in 1802, which ran on the Merthyr tram-way, and drew a load of ten tons at the rate of five miles an hour. Slight ridges were left in the edge of the wheels and on the trams, to prevent their slipping round, and to insure a forward movement. That without this precaution

there could be adhesion or advance was an idea, that long prevailed. The cause of this slipping lay in the construction of the engine, which had but one cylinder, and the crank having to pass two centres during one revolution of the wheel, the consequence was an occasional slow, dragging motion. Trevithick, who was a man of great ability, and one to whom steam-locomotion is much indebted, afterwards made a carriage to run on common roads which combined several of the arrangements now in use. The fire-place was surrounded by water, and the waste steam blown off through the smoke-pipe to produce a draught. The cylinder was placed inside the boiler for economy of heat, and the fore-wheels made to turn by cranks connected with the piston-rod, but with one cylinder only the motion was very irregular. This engine was exhibited on one of the roads in Lambeth in 1806, without, however, exciting more than a temporary interest. Three years previously another locomotive by Trevithick had blown up—an accident which created so much dread of high-pressure steam-carriages that a feeling of alarm arose respecting their use, which in some quarters is not even yet entirely dissipated.

Blenkinsop, of Middleton Colliery, near Leeds, constructed a locomotive in 1811, the wheels of which were cogged and ran in toothed rails; a noisy contrivance, intended to overcome the imaginary difficulty—want of bite—and effectually preventing rapid motion by its enormous friction. The engine had two cylinders, and so far was an improvement on those which preceded it, and laboured along at five miles an hour. The Chapmans came next with a new plan: a chain stretched from one end to the other along the middle of a tram-way was passed once round a wheel fixed beneath the carriage, and this wheel being made to revolve by the action of machinery, its bite on the chain caused the whole to move forwards. This method involved so great an amount of friction that it was abandoned almost as soon as tried. Brunton followed in 1813 with mechanical legs and feet attached to the rear of his engine, intended by their alternate walking motion to propel it continually onwards, and prevent the slipping of the wheels on the rails. Considerable ingenuity was displayed in this contrivance, which performed well, and in certain cases might be employed with advantage, but was not well adapted to locomotive propulsion. The difficulty against which it was especially applied was soon proved to have no existence.

During the same year Blackett repeated Trevithick's experiments at Wylam, in Northumberland; and the fact was satisfactorily demonstrated that, in ordinary circumstances, and with clean rails, the adhesion between the wheel and the rail was sufficient to cause a progressive motion. It would have been proved long before had the engines and tram-plates been heavier: both were too light; and the slipping so much complained of had been an accidental, not a necessary consequence.

Meantime Stephenson was busy at Killingworth, in another part of Northumberland, making and testing locomotives. In 1814 he verified the experiments of other inventors, and went beyond them all in the perfection and performance of his machinery. He took out patents in the two following years for engines, that with a load of twenty tons, and on smooth rails, would travel five miles an hour, and ten miles without a load. No better result at that time was looked for. The possibility of

transporting heavy goods with facility at a slow pace having been demonstrated, all that remained was to make it available.

Before the Liverpool and Manchester Company advertised their prize of £500, they sent a deputation to Killingworth to witness the working of the locomotives, with a view to the employment of a similar power on the line then in progress. Although the rails were not laid with that precision now considered so indispensable, the deputation found that the locomotives had been kept at work with much regularity, drawing heavily-laden trains of wagons from the coal-pits to the ships in the Tyne. They reported in favour of locomotive power, and in accordance with their decision the advertisements appeared.

The 8th of October 1829 was fixed for the trial, and on the appointed day three engines were brought forward to compete for the prize: a competition which involved much more than the winning of £500. Stephenson was there with his *Rocket*, Hackworth with the *Sanspareil*, and Braithwaite and Ericson with the *Novelty*. The test assigned was to run a distance of thirty miles at not less than ten miles an hour, backwards and forwards along a two-mile level near Rainhill, with a load three times the weight of the engine. The *Novelty*, after running twice along the level, was disabled by failure of the boiler-plates, and withdrawn. The *Sanspareil* traversed eight times at a speed of nearly fifteen miles an hour, when it was stopped by derangement of the machinery. The *Rocket* was the only one to stand the test and satisfy the conditions. This engine travelled over the stipulated thirty miles in two hours and seven minutes nearly, with a speed at times of twenty-nine miles an hour, and at the slowest nearly twelve; in the latter case exceeding the advertised maximum, in the former tripling it. Here was a result! An achievement so surprising, so unexpected as to be almost incredible. Was it not a delusion?—had it been really accomplished?—and could it be done again?

The prize of £500 was at once awarded to the makers of the *Rocket*. Their engine was not only remarkable for its speed, but also for the contrivances by which that speed was attained. Most important among them was the introduction of tubes passing from end to end of the boiler—said to have been suggested by Mr Booth, secretary to the company—by means of which so great an additional surface was exposed to the radiant heat of the fire, that steam was generated much more rapidly, and a higher temperature maintained at a smaller expenditure of fuel than usual. The tubular boiler was indeed the grand fact of the experiment. Without tubes steam could never have been produced with the rapidity and heat essential to quick locomotion. In more senses than one the trial of the three locomotives in October 1829 marks an epoch.

By burning coke instead of coal, the stipulated suppression of smoke was effected: the quantity consumed by the *Rocket* during the experiment was half a ton. The coke and water were carried in a tender attached to the engine.

On the 15th of September 1830 the railway was opened. The two great towns, with due regard to the importance of the event, made preparations for it with a spirit and liberality worthy of their wealth and enterprise. Members of the government, and distinguished individuals from various quarters, were invited to be present at the opening. On the memorable

day a train was formed of eight locomotives and twenty-eight carriages, in which were seated the eminent visitors and other persons present on the occasion, to the number of 600. The *Northumbrian*, one of the most powerful of the engines, took the lead, followed by the train, which, as it rolled proudly onwards, impressed all beholders with a grand idea of the energies of art, and of the power destined soon afterwards to effect the greatest of civil revolutions. At Parkfield, seventeen miles from Manchester, a halt was made to replenish the water-tanks, when the accident occurred by which Mr Huskisson lost his life, and tempered the triumph by a general sentiment of regret. The proceedings, however, though subdued, were carried out in accordance with the arrangements prescribed.

Business began the next day. The *Northumbrian* drew a train with 130 passengers from Liverpool to Manchester in one hour and fifty minutes; and before the close of the week six trains daily were regularly running on the line. The surprise and excitement already created were further increased when one of the locomotives by itself travelled the thirty-one miles in less than an hour. Of the thirty stage-coaches which had plied between the two towns, all but one went off the road very soon after the opening, and their 500 passengers multiplied at once into 1600.

In December commenced the transport of goods and merchandise, and afforded further cause of astonishment; for a loaded train, weighing eighty tons, was drawn by the *Plumet* engine at from twelve to sixteen miles an hour. In February 1831 the *Samson* accomplished a greater feat, having conveyed 164½ tons from Liverpool to Manchester in two hours and a half, including stoppages—as much work as could have been performed by seventy horses.

There are many now in their manhood who will remember the wonder and excitement created by these results in all parts of the kingdom. The facts could not be disputed. Neither the laws of nature nor science could be brought to accord with the views of those who saw in the new agencies the elements of downfall and decay. Even the company had gone surprisingly astray in their calculations. Believing that the major part of their business and of their revenue would be derived from the transport of heavy goods, they had set down £20,000 a year only as the estimated return from passenger traffic; and scarcely a week had passed before they became aware of the fact, as agreeable as it was unexpected, that passengers brought the greatest return. The whole number conveyed from the time of opening to the end of the year—three months and a half—was more than 71,000.

From all accounts of locomotives it appears that some of the first constructed were intended to run on common roads. According to Du Halde, the history of such carriages begins at an earlier date than is commonly supposed. He relates that, about the year 1700, the Jesuit missionaries in China invented certain mechanical curiosities for the entertainment of the emperor Kanghi. They caused a wagon to be made of light wood, about two feet long, in the middle whereof they placed a brazen vessel full of live coals, and upon them an eolipile, the wind of which issued through a little pipe upon a sort of wheel made like the sail of a windmill. This

little wheel turned another with an axletree, and by that means the wagon was set a-running for two hours together; but for fear there should not be room enough for it to proceed constantly forwards, it was contrived to move circularly in the following manner:—To the axletree of the two hind-wheels was fixed a small beam, and at the end of this beam another axletree passed through the stock of another wheel, somewhat larger than the rest; and accordingly as this wheel was nearer or farther from the wagon it described a greater or lesser circle. The same contrivance was likewise applied to a little ship with four wheels: the eolipile was hidden in the middle of the ship, and the wind issuing out of the two small pipes filled the little sails and made them turn around a long time. The artifice being concealed, there was nothing heard but a noise like wind, or that which water makes about a vessel.'

Some years later Cugnot produced a steam-carriage at Paris, which, after having proved its inefficiency, was laid aside, and is still to be seen in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. In 1772, the American, Oliver Evans, began to experiment on steam with a view towards employing it as a substitute for animal power. 'In the year 1786 he petitioned the legislature of Pennsylvania for the exclusive right to use his improvements in mills and his steam-wagons in that state. The committee to whom the petition was referred heard him very patiently while he described the mill improvements, but his representations concerning steam-wagons made them think him insane: his petition as regarded the wagons was refused. Evans foresaw that steam would one day be the prime agent of locomotion, and he frequently declared that the time would come when travellers would be conveyed on good turnpike-roads at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, or 300 miles a day, by a contrivance similar to his own. Within the next thirty years numerous attempts were made by inventors in this country to employ steam-power on common roads. The prospect appeared promising; for if once successful, there were excellent highways already prepared on which to conduct a traffic, thereby saving all the outlay required for a perfectly level or independent route. Trevithick's experiments have already been mentioned. Griffith brought out a steam-carriage in 1821, portions of which were the invention of a foreigner. Another by Gordon, in 1822, was contrived to work inside a large iron drum, as a squirrel runs in his revolving cage; with what advantage does not appear. Gurney, reputed as the most persevering of all the experimentalists, next took up the subject, and produced an engine ingeniously constructed, and in which the objection as to noise was to a great extent overcome. Instead of allowing the waste steam to be blown off by puffs, as in the usual way, it was made to enter a chamber, from which, by a special contrivance, it issued with a steady and noiseless current, and created a draught as it passed to the funnel. In 1826 it performed the journey from London to Bath, and in a manner that indicated how much remained to be improved before the sanguine hopes of the inventor could be realised. Other competitors were in the field—Dance, Macerone, Church, and Hancock, among the most prominent: Gurney, persevering, had in 1831 three steam-carriages running for the conveyance of passengers on the road from Cheltenham to Gloucester. Four trips a day were kept up from February to June, at a greater rate of speed than that of the stage-coaches on the

some nine miles of road, and at half their fares. In that time 3000 passengers had been conveyed, with an expenditure of £50 for coke, besides high wages to the engineer and his attendants. The success was such as might have led to a permanent undertaking, had not a formidable opposition been organised. Infurious reports were industriously circulated, and all travellers cautioned against trusting themselves to the dangers of steam; and, for more effectual hinderance, a portion of the road was covered to a depth of eighteen inches with loose stones. In attempting to pass this impediment the working-axle of the engine was broken, which for the time put a stop to steam-communication between Cheltenham and Gloucester. Before any steps could be taken to renew it, a number of turnpike acts had been hurried through parliament, by which excessive tolls—from 40s. to 68s.—were imposed on carriages driven by steam machinery, to be paid at each time of passing. These measures, while they checked the operations of the engineers, proved that legislators could overlook the fact, that roads are more injured by horses' feet than by wheels.

In the same year Hancock started a steam-carriage—*The Infant*—to run between Stratford and London, which excited much attention from the compactness and efficiency of its arrangements, and led to attempts in other quarters. Sanguine projectors promised lines of steam-omnibuses for all the great thoroughfares of London and the suburban districts, and coaches for Bristol and Birmingham. Meantime Gurney had petitioned parliament: a committee appointed to consider the subject of his memorial reported in favour of the introduction of steam-carriages on turnpike-roads; the increasing enthusiasm, however, for railways at that period diverted inventive enterprise into another direction, besides which the indiscreet zeal of the advocates of the carriages raised feelings unfavourable to success. To talk of travelling twenty-five miles an hour on a turnpike-road, with all its windings, all its regular and accidental traffic, was probably a mistake: half that speed would be the highest compatible with public safety. It is still a question whether highway locomotives might not be employed with profit and convenience between railways and towns lying a short distance off the line.

The history of an invention, like that of an individual, interests us more in its account of early struggles than of ultimate triumph. We dwell with varied emotions on the first attempt, the appearance of the germ, its growth and upspringing. Errors, disappointments, and difficulties often make us tremble for the result; but the error is avoided, the disappointment gives vigour to a new effort, the difficulty becomes an impulse to more strenuous exertion—and success crowns alike the endeavour and the aspiration. After that, though we may be gratified or astonished at the results, we feel that the secret charm of the interest has ceased. The lingering doubt, the quick hope, are no longer there to arouse and animate us in our own career. The race commanded our whole sympathies, and called out our latent energies. The arrival at the winning-post brings a flash of exultation—a brief thrill, which puts an end to the generous hope, the eager joy, of the earlier career.

We come now to that period in the history of railways when attempt

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passed into the fulness of enterprise. The success of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway revived some of the projects of the year 1825, and in 1830 two schemes which had been put forth for a railway from London to Birmingham were combined, the object being four lines of rail throughout the whole distance. Had this original intention been carried into effect, there is great reason to believe that the advantages which it offered would have more than compensated for the additional cost involved in such a width of roadway. Ultimately, however, a double line of rails was decided on, and a bill brought before parliament and read a first time in February 1832. Being referred to a committee, it met with a most searching investigation and strenuous opposition, notwithstanding which it passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. Two noblemen, whose estates lay near Watford, exerted all their powerful influence against it; and the company, for their unsuccessful attempt, were put to an expense of £32,000. They carried their point in the next session at a total cost of £72,868, the bill having passed in May 1833. Mr R. Stephenson was engaged as engineer, and very soon eighty miles of the works were in progress.

The original estimated cost of this railway was in round numbers £2,500,000: owing, however, to the unforeseen difficulties, to the rise in the price of iron from £9 to £14 per ton, and the panic in commercial affairs in 1836, the actual cost amounted to £2,000,000 more. The line, 112½ miles in length, was opened for the entire distance in September 1838. In 1839 the total received for passenger traffic was £608,564; in the first six months of 1851 it amounted to £723,862, besides £453,717 for the transport of coal, live-stock, and merchandise—making a sum of £1,177,579 received in half a year. The working expenses for the same period were £415,420. In 1846 the name of the line was changed to 'London and North-Western,' under which it now includes a group of railways with extensive ramifications—their united capital being at the time £22,989,310. The company own 188 stations; and, including lines leased, or supplied with locomotive power, they work altogether 863½ miles of rail. According to the published report, the working stock consists of—563 engines; 562 tenders; 1 state-carriage; 555 first-class, mail, and composite carriages; 489 second-class; 345 third-class; 259 horse-boxes; 243 carriage-trucks; 200 guards' brake and parcel-vans; 8052 wagons; 203 sheep-vans; 1155 cribrails; 5150 sheets; 55 parcel-carts and trucks; 24 travelling post-offices and tenders; and 162 horses.

The Grand Junction line connecting Birmingham with Liverpool is a rare if not the only instance of a great railway having been sanctioned by parliament without opposition. The bill was passed in 1833, and the line opened in 1837. The act for the Eastern Counties line was obtained in 1836; a portion was opened in 1840; as far as Colchester, 51½ miles, in March 1843; and the line through Cambridge to Brandon in 1845. The act for the London and South-Western passed in 1834—opened May 1840: the South-Eastern in 1836—opened February 1844: the Brighton in 1837—opened 1841. The short line to Blackwall was opened in 1840: the Great Northern, formerly the London and York, in August 1850; it now comprehends, with its loops and branches, 285 miles. According to the act passed in 1844, the line from Chester to Holyhead was to have been carried across the Menai Bridge; this act was amended in the following year. In

May 1846 the first stone of the Britannia Bridge was laid—in March 1850 it was opened for traffic. As is well known, the passage of the strait and of the Conway is effected by means of the famous iron tubes—capacious tunnels placed high in air, and secure under the heaviest trains :—

' Structures of more ambitious enterprise
Than minstrele, in the age of old romance,
To their own Merlin's magic have ascribed.'

A line from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, worked by horses, was commenced in 1826, and opened in 1831; that to Glasgow in 1842; the other Scottish railways, one of which extends north as far as Aberdeen, are all of more recent construction. The Dublin and Kingstown was the first Irish line, opened in 1834; acts for the others were obtained in 1836 and 1837.

The bill for the Great Western Railway first came before parliament in 1833, in the face of an active opposition which ultimately led to its rejection by the Lords, after an outlay of £30,000 on the part of the promoters of the measure. The seats of learning, Eton and Oxford—behind-hand in knowledge—particularly distinguished themselves in their antagonism. To have a station near the famous grammar-school or the ancient university, with a railway reaching to the metropolis, was to be fatal to the studious and steady habits of boys on the one hand, and of young men on the other; and on this poor assumption the course of a grand ameliorating enterprise was for a time effectually hindered.

Application having been renewed, the bill passed in 1835. The parliamentary proceedings from first to last cost £89,197—a literally wasteful expenditure, and one that involves a permanent tax on the travelling public, in the higher rate of fares which they are made to pay. A portion of the line was opened in 1838; to Bristol in 1841; and to Exeter, 194 miles, in 1845.

It had first been proposed to make the station of the London and Birmingham Company serve also for the Great Western, the first half-dozen miles leading from the metropolis to be common to both; but as the country to be traversed presented favourable levels, Brunel, who had been appointed engineer, recommended the adoption of a broad gauge, or width between the rails of seven feet. With the exception of the Eastern Counties line, where Braithwaite had laid the rails five feet apart, the gauge on the Birmingham, and all the principal lines then undertaken, was four feet eight and a half inches, consequently the idea of using any portion of the line in common had to be given up. The Great Western Company chose an independent station, and sanctioned their engineer's project, which involved a wider roadway, and greater dimensions in all the details and works, than on other lines. The gauge of four feet eight and a half inches was that which—perhaps without any specific reason—had long been used in the mining districts: Stephenson adopted it on the Liverpool and Manchester line, and hence it became the standard for other lines; not that opinion was unanimous in its favour, for the Rennies among others had declared in favour of five feet prior to 1830. The narrow gauge is adopted in France, in the United States, and in Belgium—where, on the line from Ghent to Antwerp, the width is but three feet nine inches. With few exceptions, all the Italian and German lines are also on the narrow

gauge: the Basle and Strasburg is six feet three inches; and the Dutch lines are six feet six inches. Five and six feet is the gauge of some of the Irish lines.

Brunel considered that with a seven feet gauge he should be able to insure smooth and steady motion; the bodies of the carriages would be between and not above the wheels, as on the narrow gauge—an arrangement, by the way, not now carried out in practice. Ordinary carriages and other vehicles might be conveyed on low trucks without difficulty, owing to the increased width; and, more than all, the locomotives would be adapted for extraordinary developments of power. The increased expense excited murmurs and an inquiry, but without leading to any alteration. On the Eastern Counties line the directors had found it necessary to abandon the five feet gauge for the narrower one universally adopted on lines with which they came into connection. In effecting the alteration they took up and relaid eighty-six miles of rails.

When in 1844 the line from Bristol to Gloucester was opened, which, by the influence of the Great Western Company, had been laid on the broad gauge, all the practical inconveniences of 'break of gauge' were immediately felt. Travellers from Bristol or Birmingham, compelled to pass with all their baggage from one set of carriages to another, were not slow to murmur and threaten; and at the latter-mentioned town a public meeting was held to remonstrate against the continuance of the interruption.

This may be considered as the first move in the 'battle of the gauges,' which has been fought with the spirit and pertinacity ever excited by a desire for gain, or the hope of circumventing an opponent. The territory lying between the two rival lines—the Great Western and the North-Western—was the prize contended for. Whichever obtained possession would be able to keep the other from any share in the traffic. Active measures were taken on both sides; and troops of engineers, surveyors, and levellers, taking possession of the ground, tasked themselves to the utmost to prepare their plans and specifications for the memorable 30th of November 1845—that Sunday, before midnight of which the 'standing orders' required the documents to be lodged at the Board of Trade. Such a running, riding, driving and steaming, contrivance and circumvention, then took place throughout the length and breadth of the land as were never before heard of. As the evening closed in, messenger after messenger rushed into Parliament Street at headlong speed, panting with excitement, and delivered his burden of papers and parchments into the custody of the government officials. The stir was universal, for similar documents had to be placed in the hands of every clerk of the peace of every parish across which a railway had been projected—and how few were there that escaped in the mad excitement of the day! More than 1200 companies—one-half having registered their prospectuses—had been started: the capital represented by those registered was £563,203,000.

From 1801 to 1840, 299 railway acts and extensions of acts were passed; the numbers in the following years serve as an index of the speculative spirit of the time. In 1841, 19 were passed; in 1842, 22; in 1843, 24; in 1844, 48; in 1845, 120; in 1846, 272; in 1847, 184; in 1848, 88; in 1849, 35; and in 1850, 36. The London and North-Western shares, in August 1845, were selling at £252; the Great Western, £256; Midland,

£100; and the others in proportion—an extraordinary rise, followed soon afterwards by a fall of from 50 to 800 per cent.

Nearly 600 railway bills came before parliament in 1846. In the same session the gauge-question was discussed, and the Great Western projects, after rigorous investigation, were authorised under certain conditions: at the same time a commission of scientific individuals was appointed to test the merits of the respective gauges. Many persons will remember the experiments made by Professor Barlow and the astronomer-royal in January 1846—remarkable for the extraordinary velocity at which the trial-trips on broad and narrow lines were made. Their report embraced the whole bearings of the question, the difficulties of break of gauge were fully considered, advantages and disadvantages balanced; and although in some respects the broad gauge was to be preferred, they recommended that as the greater part of England was already laid with the 4 feet 8½ gauge, it alone should be maintained and permitted 'in all public railways now under construction, or hereafter to be constructed in Great Britain.'

The appearance of this report kindled a lively controversy: the Board of Trade did not hold themselves bound by all the recommendations; and permission was eventually given to the Great Western Company to extend their broad gauge to Rugby, to Birmingham, and Wolverhampton; also to the whole south and west of their existing line from London to Bristol and Exeter, and to be confined to those limits. Thus the question was compromised, and scope allowed for an active competition, which still exists between the two companies most interested.

It is not difficult to perceive that railway legislation is yet susceptible of amendment: there is no good reason why enormous expenses should be incurred in carrying a bill through parliament—expenses injurious alike to the companies and the public. The placing of railways under the control of the Board of Trade in 1840 was a step, but not far enough, in the right direction. The Board are empowered to forbid the opening of any line which they may consider unsafe, and to compel such alterations as public safety requires, particularly with respect to bridges, viaducts, or crossings. All disputes between differing companies are to be referred to them, and they can order returns of all accidents that take place, and institute inquiry according to circumstances. Then, in 1844, an act was passed designed to protect the public against the consequences of monopoly on the part of railway companies. By its provisions government was enabled to revise the tolls and charges of any railway of which, twenty-one years after the passing of the act, the profits should exceed 10 per cent., and reduce them to this value. They might also, on giving three months' notice, purchase any railway at a price estimated from the average of the three preceding years; and further, for the protection and benefit of travellers, all companies sanctioned in 1844, or in any subsequent session, were to provide third-class carriages as prescribed by certain regulations:—
'The hour of starting to be subject to the approval of the Board of Trade.

'The speed to be, upon an average, not less than twelve miles an hour for the whole distance travelled, including stoppages.

'The train shall, if required, take up and set down passengers at every passenger-station.

'The carriages shall be provided with seats, and protected from the weather in a manner satisfactory to the Board of Trade.

'The fare of each passenger shall not exceed one penny a mile.

'Each passenger shall be allowed to take half a hundredweight of luggage, not being merchandise or other articles carried for hire or profit, without extra charge; and any excess of luggage is to be charged by weight, at the lowest rate charged for passengers' luggage by other trains.

'Children under three years of age, accompanying passengers, are to be taken without charge; and under twelve years of age, at half-price.'

In certain cases the companies have been allowed to change some of these regulations for others, but not less suitable or efficient: as regards the fare the statute is imperative; it is not to exceed 1d. a mile, though it may be lower. No toll is levied on third-class fares, but on all other sums received for passenger-traffic 5 per cent. must be paid to government. The act also regulates the charges for the conveyance of troops, police, and persons employed in the public service: commissioned officers may travel in first-class carriages at a fare not exceeding 2d. a mile; soldiers and policemen at 1d. a mile in third-class carriages; and stores are to be conveyed at 2d. a ton per mile. All companies are further bound to permit the erection of an electric telegraph along their lines if required for Her Majesty's service; and compensation for loss of life or injury while travelling is substituted for the law of deodand which formerly prevailed. And last, paid inspectors and commissioners are appointed to see that the provisions of the act are duly enforced and obeyed.

Had it not been for the regulations affecting third-class passengers, that large section of the travelling community would, we may believe, have found themselves still riding in open boxes, exposed to all weather, obliged to start at hours expressly chosen for their inconvenience, and delayed on the journey as might suit the humour of their carriers. Even at the present time there is too much disposition to shew small consideration to those who pay but a penny a mile. At many stations the second and third class passengers are always drawn beyond the shelter of the roof before the train stops whatever be the weather; and the 'through' transit is often rendered difficult to those who pay the lowest fares. On some lines of railway—several even which have termini in London—open uncovered boxes are still used as third-class carriages. These are unobjectionable in very fine warm weather, but in winter, or during cold rains or winds, an unsheltered journey becomes most painfully distressing. On one or two other main lines leading northwards from the metropolis the third-class carriages are bad, but the second class are worse; too low to allow passengers to sit upright with their hats on, and with a single opening of fifteen or eighteen inches square on each side for all outlook and ventilation, as though not to see the country made travelling more agreeable. This is short-sighted and suicidal policy. Money, in itself, is not the only thing worth striving for; or if it be, it profits best those who exercise a generous policy. Competition will do much towards amending these grievances, and already it is felt that the best accommodation attracts most traffic. The Great Northern has set a praiseworthy example of what can be done with clean, convenient, and cheerful carriages, though there is still

rooms for improvement. Punctuality, and the minimum of annoyance compatible with a train in motion, are safer resources than a reputation for the fastest travelling. In leaving this part of the subject we cannot refrain from an emphatic protest against the now prevalent practice of disfiguring the roofs and sides of carriages with advertising show-bills: it ought not to be tolerated for a single day.

The idea of propelling carriages by atmospheric pressure was first suggested by Vallance at Brighton in 1824. A tunnel was to be made, air-tight, and large enough to receive carriages, which, on the exhaustion of the tube by means of steam-power and the admission of air at one end, were to move rapidly under the influence of the pressure. On this plan, whatever the length of the journey, passengers would have had to travel in the dark—a fatal objection. It was afterwards shewn that small continuous tubes worked on the same principle might be made available for the rapid transmission of letters. Next Medhurst, in 1827, and Pinkus, in 1834, proposed improvements. In 1839–40 Clegg and Samuda laid down a mile of atmospheric railway, as a working-model, at Wormwood Scrubs, near Paddington. A nine-inch iron tube was fixed between the rails, having on its upper side a continuous longitudinal valve. A piston working within the tube was connected with the carriage by a bar passing through the valve, and on the admission of air, after exhaustion, travelled forwards with a load of nine tons at thirty miles an hour. The valve being made with an elastic hinge opened readily as the bar advanced, and closed again immediately behind it, and was kept air-tight by a composition of oil and tallow. About the same time Roberts proposed to establish an atmospheric railway across Dartmoor—the tube to be exhausted by water-power. A committee of the House sat to inquire into the merits of Samuda's project—reported favourably, and acts were granted. A line of nearly two miles from Dalkey to Kingstown, in extension of the Dublin and Kingstown line, was constructed in 1843, passing through an 'awkward' district, with sharp curves, and slopes in places of 1 in 50, circumstances to which the atmospheric system is especially applicable. This is still worked at a speed of from thirty to forty miles an hour; but the other attempts made to establish a similar system on the London and Croydon, and on the South Devon lines, failed entirely—chiefly from imperfection in the valve, and difficulty in stopping where required. A contrivance of racks and wheels in place of the continuous valve was proposed by Pilbrow in 1844; and later, a new form of valve by Hallette—two small inflated flexible tubes which, acting as closed lips, would allow of the passage of the piston and at the same time exclude the air. And thus the question as to whether atmospheric is preferable to locomotive power remains unsettled.

The outburst of railway enterprise in England after 1830 excited a similar spirit in the United States. A short line of four miles from the stone-quarries at Quincy to Boston had been constructed in 1827, and in 1829 several miles of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway were completed. These, as well as some other lines projected and laid down about the same time in the coal-fields of Pennsylvania, were worked by horses. It appears, however, that locomotive power was first introduced at Lackawanna, in 1828, on the line which connected the Delaware and Hudson canals.

In 1830, W. C. Redfield proposed the construction of a 'great western railway,' from the Hudson to the Mississippi river, a distance of 1000 miles. This was a magnificent project for that day, and has since been realised, though not in its integrity, by a series of lines stretching across the whole region. The Albany and Schenectady line, sixteen miles in length, was the first made in the state of New York; it was opened in 1833 with locomotive power. There are now in the same state nearly 1500 miles of railway. The whole country is traversed by railways in every direction; their total length at the end of 1850 was 8797 miles, and their cost 286,455,078 dollars, somewhat more than £57,000,000 sterling. The extent to be in operation by the close of the present year has been estimated at 10,000 miles.

A railway convention, attended by 465 delegates, was held at St Louis in October 1849, to discuss the preliminaries of a great trunk-line from the Mississippi to California. This project has since been put forward in another form by Mr Whitney: he undertakes, if Congress will grant a sufficient breadth of land along the whole route, to lay down the line, ten miles at a time, with funds raised by the sale of the land on either side. This is a grand scheme, but it is hardly to be expected that American enterprise will stop short of locomotives across the Rocky Mountains. Meantime the Mormons, prior to building their temple, have commenced a wooden railway, to cross their territory from the Salt Lake to the hill country and to the sea-coast.

According to the above statement, American railways have cost about £7000 a mile—less than one-third of the average expense of English lines. This arises from the cheapness of land, a rough and ready system of construction, and the fact that most of the lines have but one pair of rails, and some of these are nothing more than plates of iron nailed down to continuous wooden sleepers. The rate of travelling is about fifteen and seldom exceeds twenty miles an hour, so that the cost for working and maintenance is kept low, and the liability to accident avoided.

In some respects the arrangements and management of American railways are superior to our own. The carriages are from fifty to sixty feet long, resting at each end on a low four-wheeled truck, which, turning on a pivot, admits of sharp curves being passed without danger of 'derailment'—that is, running off the rails. The seats are placed across, on either side of a clear central space; and as the doors are at the end, a passageway is thus obtained throughout the whole length of a train—an iron footplate serving to bridge over the space between the carriages. There is a positive advantage in this arrangement: the guard may be readily communicated with at any time in case of danger, and passengers, instead of sitting as though packed into a tea-chest, may pass from carriage to carriage, according as they may wish to change their seats, to look for a friend, or discover a conversable companion. A compartment at one end of each carriage is reserved exclusively for the use of women, and is fitted up with washing apparatus and other conveniences. In cold weather the whole vehicle is kept warm by a stove, and lighted always at night by a lamp at each end. The seats are stuffed, and have padded backs, in all carriages alike, there being no distinction of first, second, or third class. The principle in America is to afford the same accommodation to all at the

lowest profitable scale of charges; and it has been found that the dividends are greatest on the lines where the fares are lowest. Such arrangements might not be generally acceptable in England; but the experiment would be worth trying, whether light, roomy carriages, of only one class, with stuffed seats and moderate fares, would find favour on the one hand, and bring profit on the other.

Besides the advantages here indicated, the American carriages are but half the weight of those made in this country; consequently the sixty or eighty passengers which each will accommodate are conveyed with economy of locomotive power and almost the minimum of 'dead weight.' It is a common occurrence on the minor lines in England to see a train weighing from twenty to thirty tons set in motion for the transport of one ton or less of passengers. In some quarters a new and lighter style of carriage has been introduced with manifest benefit; by the substitution of iron for wood, weight is diminished without any sacrifice of strength.

There is yet another convenience peculiar to railway travelling in America which we feel bound to notice: the arrangements respecting luggage. The guard receives your trunks, bags, or boxes, attaches to each a numbered zinc label, and for each one gives you a duplicate, and locks the whole in a special compartment. At the journey's end, you choose among the porters of the respective hotels waiting on the platform, hand your zinc labels to one of them, and walk or ride away, with the comfortable assurance that all your luggage will safely follow. Complaints about lost luggage are consequently rare.

It will be said that the throng of passengers and press of business are so much greater in England than America as to prevent any possibility of similar arrangements. Here thousands travel short distances; there hundreds travel long distances. Here from twenty to forty trains a day from a station scarcely satisfy the demand; there four daily trains suffice for the whole traffic. But might we not require that the most efficient and satisfactory arrangements should be formed where there is most work to be done? If we cannot do everything better than all the rest of the world, we ought at least to do as well. We say this knowing that criticism on railway travelling in England is too often received as the mere expression of petulance; that improvement is easier talked of than accomplished; and knowing also that errors are seldom amended unless pointed out.

Railways on the continent may be said to date from 1783, when a line was laid down at the Creusot Foundries, near Mont Cenis: short lines were subsequently brought into operation in other quarters; but it was not until 1835 that the great movement was commenced, in which other countries had led the way, by the authorisation of the line from Paris to St Germain, which was completed and opened towards the close of 1837. In the following year the Orleans line was undertaken by a company, whose resources proving unequal to the task, the government granted them a lease of ninety-nine years, with interest guaranteed at 4 per cent., and by this means the works were finished. Other companies meanwhile were discussing other projects: the line from Paris to Rouen was opened in May 1843, and shortly afterwards extended to Havre. More comprehensive measures followed on the part of the government, by which they proposed to lead railways from the capital to all the frontiers of France, taking the

principal towns and cities on the route. There are now 1800 miles finished and in operation, and 1200 more in progress, making with those projected a total of 4000 miles; and before long railway communication will be complete between several points on the English Channel and the Mediterranean at Marseilles, while by another main line Bordeaux and Bayonne will be reached. The cost of the completed lines up to 1850 was £46,204,704—an amount which, according to the estimates, will be doubled by the time all shall be in operation.

Belgium made preparations for railways in 1834. Though but a small territory, it was so situated that travel-field of Europe, and not 'battle-field,' might in future be its distinguishing appellation. Two main lines were planned—from Ostend to Liege, and from Antwerp to Valenciennes; thus touching the French frontier on one side and the Prussian on the other, and both intersecting at Malines. 'The undertaking,' so reported the minister of public works, 'is regarded by the Belgian government as an establishment which should neither be a burden nor a source of revenue, and requiring merely that it should cover its own expenses, consisting of the charge for maintenance and repairs, with a further sum for the interest and gradual redemption of the invested capital.' This is the principle on which the government has acted—it made the surveys, decided on the best routes, laid down the lines, and now works them at low fares without incurring debts.

Portions of the lines were opened in 1836; and owing to the favourable nature of the country, and the diligence with which the works were conducted, the whole system was complete by 1841. Besides the lines belonging to the government there are two or three undertaken by private companies, of which the Great Luxemburg is the most important: their route is from near Charleroi to Strasburg, a distance of 140 miles. Altogether the length of the Belgian railways will be 457 miles, which, at the average ascertained cost of £18,016 per mile, will comprise a total expense of more than £8,000,000.

Germany followed: the railways of other countries were permitted to cross her frontiers, and soon numerous lines were stretching far and wide throughout the empire. The traveller may now journey by rail from Ostend to the ports in the Baltic—to Posen, Warsaw, or Vienna, or from the Baltic to the Adriatic at Trieste. Once at Ostend, he will find an iron highway to Berlin or Bâle, Prague, Munich, or Pesth, from whence a line will one day be led to Orsova, and eventually on to Constantinople. In short, a glance at the railway map of the continent will serve to shew how town to town and country to country are linked together from one end of Europe to the other; and still new lines are projected, and those in progress completed.

In most respects the railways of the United States have served as models for those of Germany. In either country the natural level of the soil is followed as much as possible, in order to avoid the expense of cuttings, embankments, or viaducts; each finds single lines with sidings, and from four to five trains daily, at a slow rate of speed, sufficient for the traffic; the style of carriage used in the one is found in the other, and in both the scale of fares is low. The number of miles of railway open in Germany is 4500, and nearly as many more are in progress or projected. The average cost has been estimated at £13,000 per mile.

Holstein has its railway; English engineers are at work on the preliminary lines in Sweden and Norway; in Russia a vast system has been projected, and in part carried out at the expense of the state. A line of 400 miles is to connect Petersburg with Moscow, and another of 683 miles with Warsaw: both are commenced. From Warsaw to Cracow a line of 168 miles is already opened; and a goods-line of 105 miles, worked by horses, from the Don to the Wolga. The latter was opened in 1846, four years after the first railway decree was issued. There is also a short line extending a few miles from St Petersburg, chiefly for pleasure traffic, besides others near the capital in Southern Russia from Kiew to Odessa, not yet commenced. The journey from St Petersburg to Trieste some years hence will be remarkable for its length, and interesting in the rapid change of latitude which it will effect. Leaving the Russian metropolis shivering under intensest frost, the traveller will find himself in the short space of three days transported to the sunny shores of the Adriatic.

As yet Italy has made but small progress with railways: a line partly opened is being laid from Venice to Milan; another from Turin to Genoa is approaching completion; and a third from Leghorn to Florence, with branches to other towns in Tuscany, make up a system whose further extension will depend as much on enlightened views as on pecuniary resources.

Spain has two railways: one of eighteen miles, from Barcelona to Mataro; another, forty-five miles, from Madrid to Aranjuez. The latter, chiefly promoted by M. Salamanca, was begun in 1846 and finished in February 1851, when it was opened or 'inaugurated' with the ceremony of 'blessing the engines' by the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, in presence of the court, the Cortes, 1000 distinguished attendants on royalty, troops and halberdiers, and three miles of spectators. There are four classes of carriages, the most inferior being without seats, and in which passengers are allowed to carry a burden on their head without additional charge. The fares are about half of those charged in England. Besides these home lines there are forty miles of railway belonging to Spain in the island of Cuba. When we mention further the line from Alexandria to Cairo, and those in the East Indies, for which preparations have been made, and the lines in Canada, all the railways of the world will be included in our brief summary.

The history of railway communications is a vast subject to be treated of within narrow limits. Presenting much to excite our interest in its earlier periods, in its narrative of progress from the germ to the fruit, it astonishes by the record of later results. With a too limited space for the details which these afford, we must content ourselves with such a summing up as may comprehend the more noteworthy among present results.

Year after year since the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 has added materially to the resources and capabilities of our railway system. From local it has grown into national importance. British skill and enterprise have formed the fund whence foreign nations drew example and experience, and in numerous instances their material and handiwork. The British system, whatever may be its imperfections, is worked and developed with greater vigour and activity than any other,

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and remains unparalleled in the multiplied extent of its operations. We have seen what it comprised in 1830 and subsequent years: the last twelvemonth is still more remarkable. According to the Report of the Commissioners of Railways for 1850, the additional lines opened in that year were in England 477 miles; in Scotland, 104; in Ireland, 44—making the total of the United Kingdom 6621 miles, thus distributed:—5312 miles in England and Wales, 951 in Scotland, and 538 in Ireland. Up to December 1850 the lines authorised by parliament comprehended 12,182 miles: 179 miles having been abandoned, there remained 5382 miles unconstructed, and of these about 4000 miles are as yet untouched. The whole number of stations was 2030: the number of persons employed on railways in operation in England, Wales, and Scotland, in June 1850, was 60,325, or 9.56 per mile; on 1664 miles of unfinished lines the number was 58,884, or 68.15 per mile. The number of engines at work was 2436; the miles travelled over 40,161,850, or 110,333 per day; the tons of coke burnt, 627,528, which had been produced from 896,466 tons of coal. The accident returns for the same year shewed that 216 persons had been killed, and 256 injured—chiefly, as was stated, through want of punctuality in the arrival and departure of trains. The whole number of passengers exceeded 60,000,000; and the grand total cost of all the railways amounted to £220,000,000.

The needs and purposes of trade were never so promptly subserved as now, notwithstanding the prophetic warnings to the contrary. The number of horses remains undiminished, and on most of our canals business has increased and not decayed. Are the London markets over-supplied?—straightway the excess is forwarded by rail to Birmingham, Manchester, or other great centres of provincial population; and tons of vegetables, fruit, eggs, poultry, or fish, which in one place would have perished, form an acceptable supply to hundreds of willing customers in another. The produce of remote agricultural districts has now a value altogether unanticipated a few years ago, and nature's redundant bounties are beneficially distributed. The mineral produce of Yorkshire and the midland counties is now poured into new and wider markets; and the inhabitant of London, as well as of other towns, hitherto supplied with fuel at a high cost, now saves one-third in the price of the coals he consumes. And to a still greater extent is social intercourse promoted. Hundreds of thousands who, twenty years since, had scarcely ventured beyond earshot of the bells of their native village, have now travelled to the county town—to London, that cynosure of the rural eye—or have visited all their friends within a hundred miles; while the dwellers in the noisy city, in the busy marts of trade, have traversed the land hither and thither, viewing the wonders of art with enchanted eye, and the wonders of nature with thankful spirit, and have experienced the gladness of feeling which fair landscapes and fresh breezes never fail to inspire. Without railways the Great Exhibition would have been a mere local show: now millions of spectators, gathered from all lands, have seen the marvellous spectacle, and returned to their homes scarcely less astonished at the rapid locomotion of their journey than at the results of collected industry. Without railways, too, postal reform was a bird without wings. What printing did for the grand truths of the fifteenth century was done for brotherhood and commerce by rail-

ways in the nineteenth. Unlimited capabilities for the transmission of correspondence are now afforded to the mail service: 347,000,000 letters were conveyed and delivered in 1850—an almost fivefold increase since 1839. With a celerity and regularity not less remarkable than beneficent the orders of government, calls of trade, messages of love and friendship, tidings of joy and sorrow, of all the hopes and aims, doubts and fears, which actuate a family or community, are despatched to every county and to every town and village in the land, verifying on the grandest scale the truth that all is 'toil co-operant to an end.'

Enlarged experience has improved or modified the details of railway construction and management, and has made available many aids and appliances of which the need had not been foreseen. The old 'fish-bellied' rail has been discarded for one straight and heavier; thirty-five pounds to the yard being too light for the increasing weight of traffic, seventy-five pounds to the yard is that now most in use. Taking the miles of railway in round numbers at 7000 miles, the weight of iron laid down in rails alone would thus amount to 3,696,000,000 lbs., or 1,605,357 tons; in the manufacture of which, as well as of the iron chairs, switches, girders, and columns brought into use by railway constructions, thousands of hands have been employed, and the metallic branch of our national industry largely developed. Balks of wood are found preferable to blocks of stone as sleepers; improved chairs and the substitution of hollow-wrought iron wedges for those of compressed wood facilitate the laying, and increase the stability of the rails; and in some instances, said to be successful, the rails are fixed to iron sleepers by a contrivance that dispenses with the use of chairs or other intermediate support. Signals, crossings, turn-tables; all are improved—in most instances substituting the simple for the complex; and where accidents have occurred in their use, the fault lies not with the apparatus, but with those who have charge of it.

Experiment has furnished data on which the frictional and atmospheric resistances to a train in motion may be calculated, and the most economical principles deduced. Many interesting facts have been brought to light illustrative of the laws which regulate weight at high velocities, and of those affecting speed by departure from a true level. The studious mathematician has enabled the engineer to determine beforehand the nature of his constructions, the strength of his boilers, the energies of his steam. Guess-work, in fact, has had to give place to the exactitude of real science.

The chemist, too, has lent his aid. Great expense was formerly incurred in removing at stated intervals the incrustation deposited by the water on the inside of boilers, where its accumulation was a source of positive injury and loss of power. The diffusion of a small quantity of muriate of ammonia with the water was suggested as a remedy, and being tried in an engine on the South-Western Railway, at the end of five weeks, on opening the boiler, not a particle of incrustation appeared, nor was there any deterioration of the metal. The explanation is, that as soon as ebullition commences the ammonia seizes upon the carbonate of lime contained in the water and converts it into carbonate of ammonia, which then escapes with the steam. By this means hundreds of pounds are saved annually in the repairing of boiler-tubes.

To carry passengers without interruption to the farthest point of their journey, irrespective of the lines over which they passed, was a necessity that increased with every increase of the railway system. To meet certain practical difficulties which it involved, the 'clearing system' was adopted by the different companies concerned. This system is one well known to bankers, who use it daily in the settlement of their business transactions with one another. A central 'clearing-house' was established in London, to which a daily account is sent from each of the allied stations—comprehending nearly the whole of those north of London—containing a statement of the number of passengers that travelled through; of parcels received or transmitted; of goods, cattle, private carriages, railway vehicles retained or forwarded—in short, of all details of the traffic. These are classified, and the various debits and credits indicated by columns written in red or black ink, including the proportion of passenger-tax payable to government by each company; and thus the several liabilities having been ascertained, the payment of a few hundreds of pounds in balances, instead of the inter-payment of thousands, serves to settle the whole.

Railway insurance, too, is another result of the railway system: a resource which, if it had been thought of in the days of stage-coaches, would have failed because of the fewness of travellers. For threepence a first-class traveller may insure his life for £1000, for any journey whether long or short; for twopence a second-class traveller is promised £500; and for one penny the third-class traveller gets £200; or smaller sums for injuries which stop short of the destruction of life. Or the whole term of life may be insured by a single payment. Five, twenty-five, or forty-two shillings will respectively secure £100, £500, or £1000 to the insurer, let him travel whenever he may. This subject is well worthy of consideration by travellers, especially those whose means of existence might be stopped or diverted by any sudden casualty.

Stephenson's prize-engine, *The Rocket*, weighed six tons: locomotives now weigh from 30 to 40 tons. In how far this mighty agent of travel has been improved was shewn in the Great Exhibition, where at one side stood a row of ponderous and magnificent locomotives, finished, though so huge, with the precision of a watch, and seeming formidable in their silence. To speak of them in the present tense, *The Liverpool*, exhibited by the North-Western Company, is one of Crampton's patent—that is, with the driving-wheels at the rear instead of at the centre. It weighs 37 tons, and has a heating-surface of 2400 square feet. *The Lord of the Isles*, belonging to the Great Western Company, is a favourable specimen of the ordinary engines used on the broad-gauge line. Its weight is 35 tons, that of the tender when loaded with a ton and a half of coke and 1600 gallons of water, 18 tons—altogether 53 tons. The heating-surface is 1815 feet, with strength sufficient to bear a pressure of 120 lbs. to the inch. This engine is said to have drawn 120 tons at sixty miles an hour; the usual speed is, however, twenty-nine miles an hour with 90 tons, and a consumption of 21 lbs. of coke to the mile.

Besides these, there was a locomotive by Hawthorn, with improved springs, which keep the bearing on the wheels at all times equal, a steam-chamber inside instead of outside the boiler, and considered equal to a speed of eighty miles an hour. There were specimens, too, of light engines

and light carriages for branch-lines or light traffic, and not less swift than some of their heavier competitors.

These instances may serve to convey an idea of the capabilities of recently-constructed locomotives; their velocity of at times seventy or eighty miles an hour may be increased when stronger materials or modes of construction shall be discovered. A cannon ball in its swiftest flight travels four times faster only than the seventy-miles-an-hour express train. The phenomena of passing objects observed during such rapid locomotion are most remarkable:—The steam fills and leaves the cylinder twenty times in a second; twenty times in a second the piston advances and returns, and the outblow of steam sounds as a continuous whiz, so inappreciable are the intervals between the rapid strokes. The driving-wheels, eight feet in diameter, revolve five times in a second, and at every beating of a clock the mighty engine dashes over thirty-five yards of ground!

How various and numerous are the sources of the great results which we have been considering! Here an idea, there a conception has been formed; attempt followed, and the failure of one has proved the success of another. Railway bars and telegraph wires are aiding in a great work: out of them grow ever-new endeavours and capabilities; and it would be rash to say where improvement shall stop, or to assume that we have reached perfection, or that knowledge shall not be increased.

Speeding to and fro, the railway train is an agent of good—a representative of great and persevering thought, of earnest skill and hardy enterprise.

In the deep silence of the night, or the calm of a summer noon, the thoughtful listener may fancy the swift breath of the locomotive to be the paating of a time eager for its advent—in haste to open a brighter era. Yet the coming depends on our own advance; and such as we make it will the time ever be:

‘For we see that through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen’d with the process of the suns.’

THE INCAS OF PERU.

IN a former Paper, treating of the ancient monuments of America, allusion was made to the melancholy which takes possession of the mind while contemplating the remains of a civilisation the sources of which have entirely dried up, and between which and the civilisation that has superseded it there is not the most distant link. But though such be the position of the aboriginal civilisation of America as regards the races that have succeeded the Indians in the dominion of their native territory, in the history of the human mind the mental development of no race of men holds an isolated position; and the more independent of collateral influences is the development of any one branch of the human family, the more important and the more interesting will its manifestations be as relates to that history. The new book of world-knowledge opened by the discovery of America has as yet been but imperfectly read, but there is much hope that when better known it will help to solve some of the most curious philosophical historical problems. Irrespective of such deep questions, there is, however, much to interest us in the bygone civilisation of the Indians, and particularly in that of the Peruvian empire, where a system of government existed which is still looked up to by some as the great desideratum for all countries, and which has never elsewhere been tried on so grand a scale or carried out with so much consistency. It is true that in our democratic times the partisans of 'paternal governments,' or even 'hero governments,' have considerably diminished in number; yet that strong government centralisation, and that despotic equalisation of all individualities, which is in fact but an expansion of the same principle, with the substitution of a system for a man, has been a favourite theory with many. We do not of course pretend to say that the system of government in Peru was exactly similar to any of the utopian schemes of European genius; but there is sufficient resemblance between it and several of these to recall to us the occult affinities of the human mind.

When Pizarro landed in Peru with the intention of conquering for the Spanish crown the supposed *El Dorado*, which had so long evaded the searching eye of the Spanish treasure-seekers, the empire of the Incas—as the rulers of this country were called—extended along the shores of the Pacific from about 2° north latitude to 37° south latitude, comprising the kingdom of Quito and Northern Chili; the country being intersected

throughout the whole length by the vast ridge of the Andes. This stupendous mountain-chain did not, however, on all points form the eastern boundary-line of the Peruvian empire, but was on the contrary embraced within its limits and made to partake of its civilisation. The strange mixture of sandy levels and precipitous mountain-steeps presented by the topography of the country seem indeed, more than anything else, to have stimulated the genius of that civilisation, and it was in its subjugation of these natural impediments that it was most strikingly manifested.

Striking, indeed, was the spectacle presented on the coasts of the Pacific to the eyes of the astonished Spaniards; for though they had so long fed their imaginations with exaggerated narratives, embodying the hopes and dreams of romantic adventurers, that they expected to discover in these unexplored regions countries where the rivers flowed in beds of gold, where sparkling gems strewed the sea-beaches, and where the waters of everlasting youth gushed forth from the rocks—yet they could hardly have been prepared to meet a social organisation and development, and a material civilisation such as that of Peru. They here beheld sandy deserts, which seemed doomed by nature to sterility, rendered fertile by the ingenious contrivances of man; and gigantic mountain-ranges broken by foaming torrents, by frightful precipices, and by yawning chasms, and apparently destined to form an impassable barrier between east and west, transformed by art into a highway of intercommunication, and made to rival the plains in productiveness; while the existence of large cities and numerous smaller towns* and villages, scattered not only over the plains and in the valleys, but clustering amidst luxuriant hedgerows and smiling gardens, on the mountain plateaus and all up the verdant sides of the Cordilleras, to the very limits of its eternal snows, bore further testimony to the flourishing condition of the country. The industry of the Peruvians had, by means of artificial irrigation, converted into fertile fields and rich pasture-lands the sandy plains extending between the ocean and the foot of the Andes, which were never refreshed by rain, and but scantily watered by a few mountain-torrents descending from the Cordilleras, whose mighty rivers all flow in the opposite direction. The waters, gathered in lakes in the mountain regions, were conducted through canals and subterraneous aqueducts, constructed on a vast scale and with considerable art and admirable patience, into these thirsty plains, the barren soils of which were farther enriched with the manure of sea-fowls, the same which, under the name of guano, has of late years played so great a part in European agriculture. The aqueducts—some of which measured between 400 and 500 miles in length, and for which a passage had sometimes to be contrived through massive rocks and across rivers and marshes—were constructed of large slabs of freestone, so nicely fitted together as to require no cement, and so scientifically placed as to be able to resist on the one side the

* Dr Robertson, rendered sceptical by the evident exaggeration in the accounts of Indian civilisation given by the early Spanish writers on the subject, was on his side induced to underrate this civilisation. Among other things, he maintains that 'in all the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance or was entitled to the name of a city.' But since Dr Robertson wrote, archaeological science has been busy among the remains of the primitive civilisation of America, and has discovered many facts which confirm its extent, and among these the sites and ruins of various towns of considerable dimensions.

pressure of the superincumbent earth, and on the other the impetuosity of the rushing water, though the secret of the true arch was unknown to their constructors. Tunnels were also in some cases constructed for the purpose of serving as waste-pipes for the mountain-lakes, when these during the rainy season rose to a height that threatened the surrounding lands with inundation. To render the rugged mountain-steeps capable of cultivation the same industry and ingenuity had been employed. Here it was not the capabilities of the soil that were at fault; but the precipitousness of the declivities prevented the husbandman from bestowing his labour upon the rich mould that covered the mountain-slopes. To remedy this the mountains were cut into terraces: the level surfaces thus obtained were carefully cultivated, while, to guard against the soil being washed away, each terrace was supported by a facing of rough stones; and thus from their base to their summits the wide-spreading mountain-ranges—which on other points of the same continent were covered only with the wild though luxuriant vegetation of uncultivated nature—were here made to give forth rich harvests for the food of man. In addition to the acquisition of a greater extent of arable land, these terraces, by the variety of altitude, offered the advantage of difference of climate within the same latitude; and thus the Peruvian empire, situated within the tropics, was rendered capable of producing not only the fruits and vegetables of that zone, but those of the temperate zones also. While fields and gardens teeming with the varied products of many climes were thus made to climb the mountain-steeps, in the valleys another expedient was resorted to to win blessed harvests from a soil but little willing to yield them: here it was the upper layers of the soil that were arid and barren, and the Peruvians therefore dug down until they reached a substratum sufficiently moist to repay the labour of cultivation. The areas thus excavated frequently comprised above an acre; and the sides of the pits, which were sometimes sunk as deep as twenty feet, were lined with bricks; but this indefatigable people would undergo an equal amount of labour even for a much smaller acquisition of arable ground, the highest mountain-terraces being sometimes so narrow that they barely sufficed for the growth of three or four rows of maize.

To the knowledge of agriculture was added that of sheep-breeding; four races of sheep—the llamas, alpacas, huanacos, and vicuñas—being the only domestic animals indigenous in the country. Immense flocks of the llamas grazed on the mountain plateaus under the care of experienced shepherds, who conducted them from one quarter of the country to another, according to the changes of the season; while the more hardy vicuñas and huanacos were allowed to roam in native freedom on the more inaccessible steeps. The wool of these sheep—as also the cotton grown in the plains, and the fibrous root of the *Agave Americana*, likewise an indigenous plant—was spun and woven by the natives into various fabrics and tissues, some of which were of extreme beauty and delicacy, the superiority of the texture being still further enhanced by the brilliancy of the dyes imparted to them. So great, indeed, was the proficiency of the Peruvians in the manufacture of these tissues at the time of the conquest, that pieces of Peruvian cloth were considered fit presents to be laid before the king of Spain; and the royal recipient prided himself on his robes made of the wool of the

vicuña and the alpaca, which in the present day the general public in Europe have also learned to prize. In the populous cities the health of the inhabitants was promoted by open areas and squares of considerable dimensions, and in many their safety was secured by strong walls and fortifications. The streets, though narrow, were regularly built, and all opened into some spacious and airy square; and the architecture of the palaces, temples, and other public buildings, though of a style denoting no highly-developed artistic taste, was however characterised by simplicity, symmetry, and solidity, according to the testimony of Alexander von Humboldt, who has examined many remains of the former greatness of Peru.

The materials used for the edifices were porphyry, granite, or unburnt bricks or *adobes*, in hardness and size greatly exceeding our modern bricks. In every case the walls were of great thickness, but generally they did not exceed twelve or fourteen feet in height. There are, however, still in existence remains of more stately edifices, such as the fortress of Cannar, and the Inca's house at Callo, visited by Humboldt and other travellers, the walls of which, even in their present state, measure from eighteen to twenty-one feet in height. The porphyry and granite blocks used for the walls were frequently of great magnitude,* and in some instances of irregular dimensions, and left in a somewhat rough state, except at the edges, which were wrought with extreme nicety, so as to admit of their being so closely and firmly joined that the interstices almost escape detection. In other instances they were beautifully cut into parallelo-pipedans, the outer surface of which is slightly convex, and carved slanting down to the edges, so that the joints form small flutings.† So admirably were the stones joined, that for a long time it was supposed that the Peruvians were unacquainted with mortar or cement of any kind; but modern antiquarians have detected in their walls a kind of bituminous cement, which has by exposure to the air become as hard as the rock itself; and in other instances a mortar composed of a mixture of small stones and argillaceous marl has been discovered. The roofs of the Peruvian edifices, according to Cieza de Leon, who wrote his 'Peruvian Chronicles' in the middle of the sixteenth century, were flat, and covered over with rushes in a manner so cleverly contrived, that if not consumed by fire they might last for ages. In almost all the edifices still extant which have been visited by modern travellers, the roofs have, however, perished; and those that remain are of a curious bell-shape, and are formed of small stones embedded in indurated clay—a mode of construction still in use among the Indians of Peru. But the buildings thus covered are of small dimensions; and the very fact of the roofs of all the more extensive ones having been destroyed by time, without any vestiges of them being left, render it

* Some measured by Acosta are given as 38 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 6 feet thick. In the ruins of the fortress of Cannar, Humboldt saw no stones above eight feet in length.

† 'If the illustrious author of the *History of America*,' says Humboldt, 'could have seen a single Peruvian edifice, he certainly would not have asserted "that the Indians took the stones just as they were out of the quarries; that some were square, some triangular, some convex, some concave;" and that the too-highly vaunted art of this people consisted only in the arrangement of these shapeless materials.'—*Researches Concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America*.

probable that they were of wood, thatch, or some other perishable material. This conclusion is, moreover, strengthened by the well-authenticated fact, that the Indians, when endeavouring to dislodge the conquering Spaniards from Cuzco, threw red-hot stones and burning arrows into the city, with a view to setting it on fire, an attempt which they would hardly have made had the roofs as well as the walls been constructed of incombustible materials. The interior arrangements of the Peruvian edifices seem to have been somewhat similar to those of the mysterious palaces of Central America and Yucatan, described in a previous number of this work, at least in as far as the apartments did not communicate with one another, and that no provision was made for the admission of light, save the doorways by which each room was entered, and which generally opened on a courtyard. In the more stately edifices the doors are from six to seven feet high, and the doorposts, like those in the Egyptian temples, incline inwards towards the top, making the lintel narrower than the threshold. Some of the edifices in extent greatly surpassed even the stately palaces of Yucatan, but of the elaborate sculptured ornaments so lavishly bestowed on the outward walls of those palaces there are no appearances in the ruins of Peru.

However inferior in point of architectural elegance, the interior of the palaces and temples of Peru so greatly exceeded in magnificence anything of which history bears record, that were not the testimony of the old Spanish writers on the subject borne out by many concurrent evidences, we would be inclined to believe that they had borrowed their descriptions from fairy tales, and were not representing to us realities which they had themselves beheld. The interior walls of the palaces, we are told by Garcilasso de la Vega, himself a descendant of the Incas of Peru, were covered with gold and silver—sometimes laid on in massive plates; sometimes wrought into elegant imitations of parasitical plants, with graceful tendrils and varied foliage, interspersed with glistening snakes, green lizards, gorgeous butterflies, and other insects, seemingly disporting among their pendent wreaths. In niches in the walls were placed images of larger animals, and also of men and women, all wrought in solid gold and silver; and even the commonest domestic utensils in the royal palaces were made of the same precious metals. The palaces were further surrounded by spacious gardens, stored with the most beautiful flowers and the most fragrant plants which the varied climes of the empire produced; and here, again, the wonderful wealth of the Peruvian monarchs was displayed in the attempts made to embellish nature by the help of art—the real plants, flowers, and fruits, being interspersed with artificial ones, wrought of gold and silver and precious stones with such extraordinary skill as to rival the others in beauty. Amid these gardens also rose the splendid baths of the Incas, where the crystal waters of the fountains gushed forth from pipes of silver, and were caught in basins of gold.

But the splendour of the most gorgeous palaces of the Incas, as well as that of every other religious edifice throughout the country, was thrown into shade by the magnificence of the great Temple of the Sun at Cuzco—the sacred city of the Peruvians, the nucleus of the state, the residence of the Incas, the capital of the empire. The interior of this temple—which was distinguished by the name of *coricancha*, or 'Place of Gold,' and which

consisted of one large edifice, surrounded by several smaller buildings, all encompassed by high walls, and was situated in the centre of the capital—is described in the following glowing terms by Mr Prescott, the American historian of the conquest of Peru, who has drawn his description from Spanish writers who had seen the 'Houses of the Sun,' as the Peruvian temples were called, before the cupidity of the Spaniards had quite despoiled them of their original magnificence :—

'The interior of the temple was the most worthy of admiration. It was literally a mine of gold. On the western wall was emblazoned a representation of the deity, consisting of a human countenance looking forth from amidst innumerable rays of light which emanated from it in every direction in the same manner as the sun is often personified with us. The figure was engraven on a massive plate of gold of enormous dimensions, thickly powdered with emeralds and precious stones. It was so situated in front of the great eastern portal that the rays of the morning sun fell directly upon it at its rising, lighting up the whole apartment with an effulgence which seemed more than natural, and which was reflected back from the golden ornaments with which the walls and ceiling were everywhere incrustated. Gold, in the figurative language of the people, was "the tears wept by the Sun;" and every part of the interior of the temple glowed with burnished plates and studs of the precious metal. The cornices which surrounded the walls of the sanctuary were of the same costly material; and a broad belt or frieze of gold, let into the stonework, encompassed the whole exterior of the edifice. Adjoining the principal structure were several chapels of smaller dimensions. One of them was consecrated to the moon, the deity held next in reverence, as the mother of the Incas. Her effigy was delineated in the same manner as that of the sun, on a vast plate that nearly covered one side of the apartment. But this plate, as well as all the decorations of the building, was of silver, as suited to the pale, silvery light of the beautiful planet. There were three other chapels, one of which was dedicated to the host of stars, who form the bright court of the sister of the Sun; another was dedicated to his dread ministers of vengeance, the thunder and the lightning; and the third to the rainbow, whose many-coloured arch spanned the walls of the edifice with hues almost as radiant as its own. There were, besides, several other buildings or insulated apartments for the accommodation of the numerous priests who officiated in the services of the temple. All the plate, the ornaments, the utensils of every description appropriated to the uses of religion, were of gold or silver. Twelve immense vases of the latter metal stood on the floor of the great saloon filled with grain of the Indian corn: the censers for the perfumes, the ewers which held the water for sacrifice, the pipes which conducted it, through subterraneous channels into the buildings, the reservoir that received it, even the agricultural implements used in the gardens of the temple, were all of the same rich materials.' The gardens, like those described belonging to the royal palaces, sparkled with gold and silver, and various imitations of the vegetable kingdom. Animals also were to be found there—among which the llama with its golden fleece was most conspicuous—executed in the same style, and with a degree of skill which in this instance probably did not surpass the excellence of the material.'

THE INCAS OF PERU.

Besides the fortifications surrounding the cities, numerous fortresses, spread through the country, testified to the strategical art of the people; but the most glorious monuments of their civilisation were the splendid roads which intersected the country in various directions, and the admirable means provided for rapid communication between the most distant parts of the empire, and this at a period when even in the most highly-developed countries of Europe internal communication was beset with numberless difficulties and obstacles. Two of the Peruvian causeways in particular—the one passing through the plains near the sea, the other over the mountains in the interior, and both extending over distances of from 1500 to 2000 leagues—are, as to superiority of structure, compared by modern travellers who have examined their remains, to the finest Roman monuments of the kind still extant in France, Italy, and Spain. The construction of the road through the lowlands must have been comparatively easy, though the loose nature of the sandy soil obliged the builders to carry it along an artificially-raised embankment. On each side of the causeway ran a stone parapet, to guard the traveller against being precipitated down the slopes of the embankment, which were planted with shady trees and fragrant shrubs. At points where the sands were so loose as to baffle the science of the engineers, breaches occurred in the embankment; and the causeway, and immense wooden piles, driven partially into the sands, alone indicated to the traveller in what direction he was to continue his route. But it was in the construction of the mountain-road across the rugged summits of the Andes that the Peruvian road-builders expended their whole energy and ingenuity.

This road passing along the great plateau of the Andes, connecting the city of Quito with Cuzco the capital, and stretching thence hundreds of miles further south towards Chili, is described in the following terms by Mr Prescott, on the authority of Spanish authors who had travelled on it while still in perfect repair, and whose testimony is borne out by M. de Humboldt, who examined partial remains of it 'at heights which greatly surpass the top of the Peak of Teneriffe:'—'It was conducted over pathless sierras buried in snow; galleries were cut for leagues through the living rock; rivers were crossed by means of bridges that swung suspended in the air; precipices were scaled by stairways hewn out of the native bed; ravines of hideous depth were filled up with solid masonry; in short, all the difficulties that beset a wild and mountainous region, and which might appal the most courageous engineer of modern times, were encountered and successfully overcome.' The roads were paved and lined with immense blocks of freestone, in some cases covered over with a cement of asphaltum, which gave them a noble appearance, though the width in general did not exceed twenty feet, these causeways being destined for foot-passengers only, or perhaps for caravans of llamas, which animals are still used in Peru as beasts of burden. The bridges alluded to above were made of thick ropes manufactured of the fibres of the *Agave Americana*, several cables being bound together with the pliable osiers in which the country abounds, and then covered over with earth and branches of trees. Mountain ravines as well as rivers were spanned with these woven bridges, the ends of which were attached to strong buttresses of masonry raised on each bank of the river or on each side of the chasm. Flat wooden bridges

seem also to have existed in some localities; but the Peruvians, so skilful in raising walls of great solidity and beautiful finish, knew not how to mortise timber, and where they were obliged to use beams, merely bound them together with thongs made of the maguay plant. At regular intervals along the roads, throughout the whole extent of the empire, were erected large buildings for the accommodation of travellers, and some of them so extensive as to serve as stations for the royal armies when on a march through the country; and to these conveniences were added the establishment of a system of posts, by which messages might be transmitted from one extremity of the Inca's dominions to the other in an incredibly short time. The service of the posts was performed by runners—for the Peruvians possessed no domestic animal swifter of foot than man—stationed in small buildings, likewise erected at easy distances from each other all along the principal roads. These messengers, or *chasquis*, as they were termed, wore a peculiar uniform, were trained to their particular vocation, and had each their allotted station, between which and the next it was their duty to speed along at a certain pace with the message, dispatch, or parcel intrusted to their care. On drawing nigh to the station at which they had to transmit the message to the next courier, who was then to carry it further, they were to give a signal of their approach, in order that the other might be in readiness to receive the missive and no time be lost; and thus it is said that messages were forwarded at the rate of 150 miles a day.

Looking from the point of view of the social systems now prevalent throughout Europe and America, the survey of a country presenting such numerous characteristics of an advanced stage of material civilisation, would naturally prepare the beholder to meet in its inhabitants a race full of moral and intellectual energy, pressing forward in the path of progress, and stimulated by emulation to efforts which had rendered the evidences of individual enterprise and ambition monuments of national greatness. History indeed tells us that monuments such as these have been reared by nations of slaves, toiling like dead machines under the direction of tyrannical taskmasters. Yet above the subjugated race were the conquering oppressors, in whose brains the works had been planned and designed, and therefore, though they might testify to the misery and degradation of one race, they did so equally to the personal and political superiority of the other. But in Peru the state of things resembled neither of the cases which we have supposed. There were indeed in that country two races—not the oppressors and the oppressed, but the noble and the ignoble; but a free development, personal independence, and unrestrained intellectual activity, was as much denied to the one as to the other. In both races the existence of the individual was equally absorbed in the prevailing system; and throughout the vast empire it was the Incas alone, the centre and fountain of life, who possessed anything like liberty of thought or action, and even they seem in a great measure to have renounced it in their great reverence for the traditionary policy of their race. Vast indeed must have been the intellect that invented a system of government so perfect in its mechanism as that in the centre of which sat the Inca, pulling and directing the wires which were to set in motion the nearest as well as the most distant, the highest as well as the most trivial, forces in his empire. This system, it is true,

existed during several centuries, and must in the course of these have undergone considerable development; yet if Peruvian history and the evidence of still existing monuments can be depended upon, this development seems rather to have been an extension of its provisions to every new province conquered than a modification or alteration of its original type.

Like almost all nations of whose primitive traditions we have any records, the people of Peru claimed for their rulers divine origin. According to the traditions recorded by Garcilasso de la Vega in his 'Royal Commentaries,' the inhabitants of the country, until within a period of little more than four centuries previous to the arrival of the Spaniards,* were sunk in a state of barbarism, more profound even than that of the savage American tribes at the time of the discovery. But the Sun, the great parent of mankind, taking compassion on the degraded state of this people, sent two of his children to gather the scattered tribes into a nation, and to redeem them from their savage ways. Manco Capac and Mama Oello, the son and daughter of the Sun, sent out on this benevolent mission, descended to earth somewhere near the great lake Titicaca, in the south of Peru, being provided with a golden wand, which, by sinking into the earth, was to indicate to them the spot where they might take up their abode. In the beautiful valley of Cuzco the sacred rod disappeared in the earth; and here the heaven-born pair founded the city of Cuzco, and commenced the career of earthly princes, gradually gathering under their sway the scattered tribes, and initiating them in the arts of civilisation. So far there is nothing peculiar in the traditionary myth of the Peruvians; but it is remarkable that the belief in the divine origin of their rulers was among this people never allowed to become only a vague recollection of the past, but that upon it was founded the whole organisation of the state. The worship of the great luminary, who was represented as presiding over the destinies of man as well as of the material world, and who was to be revered and propitiated as the source of light and joy and fertility, was established throughout the Peruvian empire. Every town and every village had its temples—frequently rivalling in magnificence those of the capital—in which the divine progenitor of the monarchs of the land, together with the moon, his sister-wife, and the stars, 'her heavenly train,' were worshipped with a pomp and ceremony in accordance with the richness of the ornaments lavished on their 'houses,' and well calculated to lay hold on the imaginations of a semi-civilised race; while the frequent recurrence of the religious festivals, in which the whole people participated, made religion part and parcel of the national life. The rites and observances which were deemed acceptable to the beneficent deity whom the Peruvians adored were in harmony with the attributes ascribed to him, and unmixed with any of those severe and ferocious features which disfigured the religion of the Mexicans. Fruits and flowers, animals and sweet-scented gums, were the usual offerings on the altars of the Sun; and the gorgeous pageants, the songs of triumph, the dancing and the rejoicing, with which the periods of the solstices and the equinoxes in particular were celebrated,

* The great antiquity claimed for the Peruvian empire by the early Spanish chroniclers is objected to by modern criticism, for the Inca who died in 1527 being mentioned as the twelfth only of his dynasty, an exaggerated duration seems to be allowed for each reign.

were not disturbed by the shrieks of human victims, or followed by those cannibal feasts which formed part of the rites of other American tribes.*

A religion so mild in its character could not but exercise a softening influence on its votaries, and in reality the Peruvians were more gentle than any other people of America; but as a bond between ruler and people the influences of this religion were most conspicuous. The monarch, the direct descendant and earthly representative of the chief national divinity, was supposed to be above the humanity of his subjects, and in consequence claimed and obtained from them not only the homage and obedience due to a sovereign, but something of the worship dedicated to a divinity, and the submission granted to unalterable and infallible decrees. He assumed in his style of living a pomp and a ceremony in conformity with his high pretensions. Even the most exalted among his subjects could not enter his presence except barefoot, and with a slight burden on their backs, in token of servitude and submission, and his appearance among the humbler classes was hailed as the advent of a divinity. On these occasions he was borne in an open litter, lined with the brilliant plumage of the birds of the country, and lavishly ornamented with gold and silver and precious stones. Seated on a kind of throne of massive gold, and attired with surpassing richness, he looked down with a feeling of calm superiority on the multitude of his adoring subjects, who gathered along his path, eager to catch a glimpse of the royal person.† In this manner the Incas travelled from time to time through their extensive empire, to examine into the condition of the people, and spreading joy and contentment wherever they appeared. The privilege of furnishing bearers for the royal litter was enjoyed by two cities only, and the spot where an Inca halted during his progress was ever after sacred in the eyes of the people.

The extraordinary magnificence of the royal residences has already been touched upon; but in dress the monarch was equally exalted above and distinguished from his subjects. His robes were of the wool of the vicuña, which none but the royal race might wear; his head was encircled with a many-coloured fillet, from which depended over the forehead a scarlet fringe called *borla*, forming, together with two feathers of the *coraquenque*, also attached to the head-dress, the distinguishing insignia of royalty. The *coraquenque* was a bird of a rare and curious species, whose feathers were reserved exclusively for the royal use: to kill one of these birds was an offence punishable with death; but it is to be supposed that the committal of so sacrilegious an act never entered the minds of the loyal Peruvians, as they fondly believed that a solitary couple only of the birds had been created to furnish the distinguishing ornament for the royal head-gear. In order that the royal family of the Incas might be kept quite pure, and never lose its claim to a higher descent than that of ordinary mortals, the royal consort was always selected from among the Inca's sisters, in

* Some Spanish authors indeed assert, and Mr Prescott has adopted their assertions, that the Peruvians also offered up human sacrifices on occasion of great public events—such as a coronation, the birth of a royal heir, or a great victory; but this is nowhere clearly proved.

† Such was the state in which the Inca Atahualpa first appeared before the Spaniards. The mode of travelling on the shoulders of men was not, however, limited to the sovereign, it being the usual manner of journeying in the country, a custom which is still partially maintained.

imitation of the example of their progenitors, Manco Capac and Mama Oello, who were also represented as brother and sister, though at the same time husband and wife. The queen thus selected was called the *coya*, and her sons alone could inherit the throne. The other numerous progeny of the Incas, borne to them by the concubines which they were allowed to maintain in unlimited number, constituted the nobility of the country, and were likewise honoured with the name of Inca; while a kind of inferior nobility was formed of the descendants of the *curacas*, or once independent princes, brought under subjection to the Peruvian monarchs.

When the reigning Inca died—or, as it was termed, 'was called home to the mansion of his father the Sun'—the bowels were extracted from the body and deposited in the Temple of Tampu; whereas the body, being embalmed in a most skilful manner, and clad in the usual vestments of the prince, was placed with drooping head and folded arms in a chair of gold, and deposited in the great Temple of the Sun at Cuzco. Here, in process of time, a long line of deceased monarchs and their consorts took their places opposite to each other on each side of the golden image of the Sun, their supposed progenitor, which decorated the principal wall of the temple.* The obsequies were performed with a pomp corresponding to that maintained by the monarch in life; and a number of his attendants and concubines, amounting sometimes to several hundreds, were made to die with him, in order that they might hear him company in the happier regions to which he was supposed to be removed. The first month succeeding the Inca's death was throughout the land devoted to tears and lamentations; and during the rest of the year the funeral ceremonies were renewed at stated intervals, processions being formed wherein the banners, the insignia, and the garments of the defunct Inca were displayed, and male and female mourners—denominated in the language of the country 'tear-shedders'—celebrated in solemn tones the exploits and the virtues of the departed monarch. The last day of the year of mourning was the most solemn of all; but even with that the homage paid to the dead did not cease. 'On certain festivals,' we are told by Mr Prescott, 'the revered bodies of the deceased sovereigns were brought out with great ceremony into the public square of the capital. Invitations were sent by the captains of the guard of the respective Incas to the different nobles and officers of the court, and entertainments were provided in the name of their masters which displayed all the profuse magnificence of their treasures; and such a display, says an ancient chronicler, was there in the great square of Cuzco on this occasion, of gold and silver plate and jewels, as no other city in the world ever witnessed. The banquet was served by the menials of the respective households, and the guests partook of the melancholy cheer in the presence of the royal phantom, with the same attention to the forms of courtly etiquette as if the living monarch had presided.' The means for these banquets of the dead were provided by the custom of not allowing the personal property of one Inca to pass by inheritance to his successor—the palaces, wearing-apparel, household furniture, and jewellery of every deceased sovereign being, on the contrary, left untouched; for it was

* Several of these mummies, dressed in their royal robes, which had been secreted by the natives at the time of the conquest to save them from insult, were subsequently found by the Spanish authorities.

fondly believed that they might one day return to earth to reanimate their bodies so scrupulously preserved, and that they ought on such a contingency to find everything ready for their reception.

The immense gulf which separated monarchs held in such reverence from the great mass of their subjects, was to a certain extent filled up by the class of the Inca nobles, who, as we have seen, partook on the one side of the royal blood, and on the other were connected with the people through their mothers. These nobles enjoyed considerable privileges, among which—not the least enviable in the eyes of the people and in their own—was the permission to wear a fillet round their heads similar in form but different in colour to that of the sovereign; to have their ears pierced as his were; and to have their children educated in common with the legal offspring of their royal master. Among their number also the monarch chose his chief officers, his confidential attendants, and his body-guard; and besides filling the most important and the most lucrative offices in the state, they had assigned to them large portions of the state domains; while by the people they were treated in a great measure with the same reverential regard as the sovereign, of whose superior nature they were believed to partake, in so far as that they could commit no crime. From among their number were also selected the great high-priest or *villac unu* of the empire, second only in importance to the Inca; the four high-priests of the four principal divisions of the country; and all the inferior priests who officiated in the temples of Cuzco, the holy city of the Peruvians;* and it is a strong evidence of the peculiar sanctity with which the royal race was invested among this people, that the Inca nobles derived no additional dignity from their sacerdotal functions, nor were they as members of the priesthood distinguished by any peculiar costume. The second class of nobles—constituted, as has already been mentioned, by the princes of the subjugated populations—though enjoying peculiar privileges, nevertheless held a subordinate position. It was a wise principle in the policy of the Peruvian monarchs to retain by kindness the new tribes which the fortunes of war added to the number of their subjects; and one of the conciliating measures adopted, was always to leave their native princes to govern them, though according to the dominant system, and under the surveillance of a superior governor of the Inca race. The position which these subjugated curacas thus held in the Peruvian state they were allowed to transmit to their posterity in the same manner as would have been the case had they retained their original independence; but probably, in order to prevent their interests and sympathies from becoming too local in their nature, and thus leading to a possible disruption of the empire, the curacas were bound to reside in the capital during stated periods, and to allow their sons to be educated there. Upon the whole, no subject of whatever race or whatever rank was exempt from the conditions of absolute dependence in which the mild but rigid despotism of the Inca sovereigns held every individual in the state.

Nothing could be more admirably calculated for the exercise of this despotism than the organisation of the people introduced by the Incas.

* The priests of the provincial temples were drawn from the second class of nobles.

THE INCAS OF PERU.

Of this organisation the city of Cuzco afforded, according to Garcilasso, a complete miniature picture, the whole being modelled on the pattern of this nucleus and centre of the state, whence civilisation had spread over the surrounding countries. The capital, like the country, was divided into four quarters, called *tahuantinsuyu*, or 'four quarters of the world'—the only name by which the inhabitants of this empire were distinguished among themselves; for the names of Peru and Peruvians, by which they are known to us, were given to them by the Spaniards, and is founded on a misunderstanding at the time of the conquest. The inhabitants of the various quarters of the city took up their abode in these according to the situation of their native province to the east, west, north, or south of the capital, a distinct subdivision of the quarter being assigned to the natives of each province; and as the peculiar costume of each was by law strictly maintained, the numerous inhabitants of this populous city might at any given moment be readily classified according to origin and place of abode. Each of the four grand divisions of the empire, corresponding to those of the capital, was governed by a viceroy; and these divisions were again subdivided into sections of 10,000 souls, each with its governor of the Inca race and its native curaca. The ten thousands were again subdivided into thousands, these into hundreds, and the hundreds into tens; each subdivision being headed by a captain, exercising the functions of a kind of inferior magistrate, the lower being controlled by his immediate superior. The chief duties of these captains consisted in making known the wants as well as the offences of their subordinates to the competent authorities; and their zeal was kept alive by the knowledge, that if they failed to fulfil their duty as public accusers, they would themselves have to bear the penalty of the crime they concealed or overlooked, in addition to punishment for dereliction of duty; while in case of their neglecting to make known the wants of those committed to their care, they were punished in proportion to the suffering their neglect had occasioned. These minute divisions of the people, and the exact account kept of the amount of the population by means of monthly returns, made by the captains of divisions, of the number of births and deaths occurring within their jurisdiction, formed, as it were, the corner-stone of the social and political system in the Peruvian empire.*

All the lands, and almost every kind of property in the empire, were divided into three nearly equal portions—the first being allotted to the Sun (by which was meant the services of religion), the second to the Inca, and the third to the people. The Inca's portion went to defray all his personal expenses, as well as those of his nearest kindred, and was also applied to purposes of state; and when this revenue did not suffice, the sovereign was at liberty to avail himself of the surplus revenues of the Sun. The people's lands were divided so that to each community was assigned an extent of territory proportionate to the amount of its population; and out of this each family had a certain measure of land allotted to its particular use according to the number of its members—a lot sufficient to maintain himself and wife being allowed to each man on his marriage, and a new lot added

* The subdivisions existing among the people, and all the other arrangements connected with them, were equally in force in the army, and were acted upon in war as in peace, so that no confusion could occur thereby in the internal affairs of the state.

at the birth of each child, the amount for a male child being double that allowed for a female. The lands thus allotted did not, however, become the property of the individuals to whom they were assigned for use, but continued to be the immediate property of the state; it being appointed by law that the division of the soil should be renewed every year, in order that the amount in possession of each family might be adjusted according to the increase or diminution which had taken place in the number of its members. Even the nobles were subjected to the same system, the amount of territory assigned to them being, however, proportionate to their superior dignity. These arrangements of course precluded the possibility, as regards any subject, of extending the limits of his domains; for the right to sell or to purchase lands, which would at once have upset the equilibrium established by the state, did not exist; and the arrangements relative to labour, to mines, manufactures, &c. were equally opposed to the acquisition of private property. The inconveniences which would be likely in any other country to arise from territorial arrangements such as those described, were in Peru obviated partly by the truly paternal and strongly conservative character of the government, which led it, on the one side, to consult the convenience and happiness of its subjects, wherever this could be done consistently with the exigencies of the state; and, on the other, to avoid every unnecessary change; and thus, though each individual was, as it were, but a tenant at will, in its workings the system seems to have been the same as if he had been a proprietor for life—so rarely were any changes introduced in the occupancy of the lands. As regards the negligent cultivation to which so uncertain a tenure might have led, this was prevented by the organisation of labour, which was as much under government control as any of the other affairs of the citizen.

In Peru, it seems, the whole mass of the people, the dwellers in cities as well as the rural populations, were tillers of the soil; and the greater part of the lands were cultivated in common by the members of the community. The lands assigned to the Sun in each locality were first of all to be ploughed, and sown, and reaped at the proper seasons, by all the able-bodied men belonging to this locality; next in succession came the fields of orphans and widows, of the aged and the infirm, incapable of working for themselves—the wives and families of the soldiers absent with the armies being reckoned among the widows and orphans. Garcilasso relates that there were in each city, and in large cities in each quarter of the town, public officers appointed to attend to the interests of the helpless class of the community, as regarded the cultivation of their fields. These officers, he says, at the time appointed went up at nightfall to the top of some high place, and having attracted attention by sounding a trumpet, pronounced in a loud voice the following words:—‘To-morrow work will be commenced in the fields of the helpless; the persons interested therein are hereby apprised of the fact, in order that they may repair to the spot!’ When this task of beneficence had been performed, then only the people were allowed to attend to their own fields, the law of mutual assistance prevailing also in these cases. The lands of the nobles came next in succession, and those of the Inca last of all. To this last task the people went as to a national festival. Each labourer was clad in his best attire, wore a head-dress of gorgeous plumes, and was decked with what-

ever other ornaments custom allowed him to wear; and a spirit of the purest joy, we are told, pervaded every heart, the labour being gone through to the music of the national airs, sung in honour of the Inca. The field-labours were concluded with a ceremony which probably originated in the desire of investing agricultural labour with a sacred and dignified character in the eyes of the people. Within the precincts of the city of Cuzco was a piece of ground supposed to be the first ever dedicated to the Sun in the empire of the Incas, and therefore held in such reverence that none but the blood-royal were allowed to cultivate it; and here the sovereign Inca with a golden implement turned up a few sods as an example to his subjects in the way of 'triumphing over the earth.'

However costly and splendid the agricultural implements used by the Inca, in form it was like those of the people—of most primitive construction. The plough commonly in use among them was nothing more than a strong sharp-pointed stake, traversed by a horizontal piece, ten or twelve inches from the point, on which the ploughman might set his foot and force it into the ground; and there being in the country no animals suited for draught, men had to supply this part of the labour also. Six or eight Peruvians were generally harnessed to each plough, and moved on to the tune of some national song which they chanted to enable them to keep time in pulling. After the ploughers followed women with rakes, to break the clods as fast as they were turned up.

But the Incas did not only take care that the lands were cultivated, they also looked to this being properly done, and saw that each soil was treated in the manner best suited for its amelioration. Allusion has already been made to the general system of irrigation introduced into the low and sandy grounds of the country; but the government supervision did not stop with the construction of the great canals and aqueducts, but was extended over all the minutiae of the distribution of the water through each particular field. A regular calculation was made of the quantity of water necessary for the proper irrigation of each allotment, during ordinary seasons and during extraordinary droughts, and the allowance of water was measured out accordingly, the field of the humblest as of the mightiest denizen of the land receiving equally a sufficient supply of the necessary element. The same was the case as regards the manuring of the lands: each district had assigned to it some one of the little islands along the coast where the sea-fowls deposited their manure, and this was divided among the occupiers of land with the same attention to the extent of their requirements as prevailed relative to all other matters; and so fully alive were the Incas to the value of the guano, that it was forbidden under penalty of death to kill one of the sea-fowls that had their homes on the islands, or to disturb them in any way during breeding-time. With the growing necessities of the people new lands were brought under tillage, and it was usual when desert regions had been fertilised by irrigation to transplant thither colonies to cultivate them.

In all other branches of national industry the same arrangements prevailed as with regard to agriculture: the people were in the narrowest sense of the word the servants of the government, labour being the only contribution required from them. All the mines in the country belonged exclusively to the Inca, and were worked for him by classes of his subjects

especially educated for the purpose. The mining knowledge of the Peruvians does not, however, seem to have been very profound; for they did not sink shafts, but contented themselves with the simpler operation of hollowing caverns deep in the sides of mountains or in the banks of rivers, and extracted the ore of those veins which did not dip too deeply into the bowels of the earth. This method was principally resorted to for silver; gold was mostly obtained—as it is now in California—by searching the beds of rivers, or washing the auriferous sands at the foot of the mountains. With the art of smelting the ores, and at least partially refining them, the Peruvians were also familiar, and they erected furnaces for the purpose; but the bellows being an instrument utterly unknown to them, an ingenious contrivance in the structure of their furnaces made a draught of air supply its place. As no money was coined in Peru, the precious metals and stones obtained from the mines were used merely for purposes of luxury—such as the decoration of the temples of the Sun; of the other religious houses, of which mention will be made in the sequel; and of the palaces of the Incas; as also for the various articles of personal adornment, and for the household utensils of the sovereign and his kindred—a fact which serves to explain the extraordinary splendour of the royal mansions and others already alluded to; for the natural productiveness of Peru as regards gold, silver, and precious stones, was fully proved after the occupation of the country by the Spaniards. With copper and tin the Peruvians were also acquainted, and by mixing ninety-four parts of the former metal with six parts of the latter, they produced an amalgam almost equal to steel in hardness. Various tools—such as hatchets, chisels, &c.—of this metal have been found in the graves or *huacos*, and explain the skill of the people in cutting the hardest stones.

For the animal food required for their nourishment, the people were even more immediately dependent upon the government than for the fruits of the earth, as each family seems at least to have been allowed to cull at its pleasure the produce of its field and its gardens. But the flocks of llamas and other Peruvian sheep (the only tame animals fit for the food of men indigenous in the country) being, like the mines, the exclusive property of the Incas, and their exalted parent the Sun, the hand of a subject could not be raised against these animals without especial permission. The same was the case with the game of the country; and great hunts were therefore undertaken once every year, under the personal auspices of the sovereign Incas, for the purpose of killing the animals required for the consumption of the people. These hunts bore a great resemblance to the *battues* so much in favour in some countries of Europe in the present day; only that the Peruvians, more humane than the Europeans, did not persecute the animals for mere sport. For the purpose of the battues, as for all other purposes, the country was divided into four districts, in each of which the great hunt took place once every four years. On these occasions the people, sometimes to the number of 50,000 or 60,000, were called out to form a cordon round the district appointed for the hunt, and, armed with long poles, they went about beating the bushes and driving the game of all kinds towards the centre of the circle thus formed. The noxious animals were killed as soon as discovered; but the wild deer, the huanacas, the vicuñas, &c. were more and more narrowly encircled, until being at last driven

together in some open spot marked out beforehand, they became an easy prey to the sportsmen. The male deer, the smaller game, and some of the sheep, were killed, but the greater number of the latter were only caught and sheared, and then allowed to escape. The flesh of the slaughtered animals was distributed among the people, who cut it into thin slices, and subjected it to a long process of drying—thus converting it into what is still in those countries called *chargui*, and still constitutes the chief animal food of the inhabitants. Fresh meat it would seem the people only enjoyed on occasion of the great religious festivals, when numbers of llamas were slaughtered for the public feasts; and on these occasions also they indulged in baked cakes of the maize flour, which was generally eaten raw, steeped in water only. The skins of the slaughtered animals were reserved for various manufactures, and were deposited, together with the wool of the wild and tame flocks, in government magazines, to be afterwards distributed among the people. The coarser sorts of wool were manufactured into garments for the humbler classes of the community; the finer qualities, and more especially the wool of the vicuña, were reserved for the sovereign and his kindred nobles. The spinning and weaving were entirely performed by the women of Peru, and were apportioned, like every other kind of labour, among the different districts according to the amount of their population; and the captains of sections were authorised to enter the private dwellings to superintend the work going on. The same regulations prevailed with regard to the manufactures of cotton, and of the fibres of the maguey or agave, in which the inhabitants of the milder districts were clad. The quantity of material required for the various habiliments of each family was afterwards shared out by the government, and then made up by the inmates themselves, each individual of the non-noble classes being his own tailor, shoemaker, &c. The goldsmiths, jewellers, sculptors, and other skilled labourers employed in the production of works of art and luxury, were, however, subjected to a regular apprenticeship, and the employments became hereditary in their families. But whether the people were working directly for themselves, or for the Incas and the nobles, they were equally subjected to government supervision, being equally considered as labouring for the community; idleness or negligence of any of the domestic duties was looked upon as an offence against the community; and government officers were sent round to inform themselves by personal inspection of the particular character of each household, and to punish or reward according to the merits of the case. Even the occupations of children of five years of age were regulated by law, and so likewise those of the aged and infirm, who, though incapable of performing the same labours as the young and able-bodied, had certain light tasks imposed upon them.

In their paternal solicitude for the welfare of their subjects, the Incas, not content even with such provisions as have already been mentioned, guarded against the evils which might arise from unforeseen events—such as deficient harvests, &c.—by storing in public magazines, erected in each province, immense supplies of the natural and manufactured produce of the country, which in times of need, if such arose, were distributed among the inhabitants. Some of these magazines, according to the testimony of the Spanish conquerors, contained at the time of their arrival supplies of grain and other necessities of life sufficient for the subsistence of the

population for at least seven years. To the monthly-returns of the amount of population in each province and subdivision of the country, which so greatly facilitated the various regulations, and the distribution of labour and provisions, were added equally regular and minute returns of the amount and quality of the produce, raw and manufactured, of the different districts; and thus the government was enabled at a glance to determine how far the general result of the national industry at any given period would meet the national wants, or how far the reserved stores in the magazines must be drawn upon. But the state of tutelage in which the Peruvian government held the people did not end here—it extended to the most intimate relations of life; and even the period of his marriage, the Peruvian, were he of high or low degree, could not determine for himself. At the age of twenty-four it was fixed by law that every man, and at the age of twenty every maiden, should marry; and accordingly, on an appointed day each year, all the young men and women of the Inca race having attained this age were assembled in the great square of the capital, and there the couples destined for each other were united by the sovereign Inca himself—the ceremony consisting simply in his placing the hands of the parties concerned within each other, and declaring them to be man and wife. On the same day the same ceremony was performed, in every town and village throughout the empire, for those of inferior degree by the curaca of the district. To a certain extent, it seems, each man was allowed to consult his own taste in the choice of a wife; however, if the consent of the parents on both sides were not given, the marriage was illegal, and the liberty of choice did not extend beyond the limits of the kindred circle. Where such a custom had long existed, this circle must, however, have been pretty extensive, and indeed Garcilasso de la Vega maintains that all the inhabitants of a village were very frequently of the same kin. The marriage-portion in lands was, as alluded to above, provided by the state; and the dwelling of the newly-married couple was also raised at the public charge, but the furniture was supplied by the nearest relatives.

A government claiming, like that of Peru, the right of interfering even with the domestic arrangements of its subjects, must of course be expected to exercise its rule with regard to the education of the citizen also; and thus indeed it was. Among the inferior classes this education was limited to the learning of the various handicrafts with which every individual was expected to be familiar, and did not therefore necessitate any separation from home; but for the sons of the Inca nobles and the curacas higher intellectual and physical training was considered necessary. For this purpose schools were established in the metropolis, where the noble youths, and with them the sons of the sovereign Inca, were instructed by the *amautas*, or 'wise men,' in the various branches of knowledge which these sages had mastered, and more especially in the principles of government and the ceremonies of religion, a knowledge of which was required to qualify them for their future functions in the state. But in the army also the nobles occupied the leading positions, and instruction in military acquirements therefore formed part, and not the least important part, of their education. They were trained in all the athletic exercises—such as wrestling, running, &c.—which could impart strength and agility to their

bodies. They learned to handle the various weapons in use among their people, and were initiated in the principles as well as the practice of the art of war. At the age of sixteen the pupils were subjected to a public trial, to prove themselves worthy to be admitted to the honours of manhood; and so important was this examination considered, that it was watched with intense interest by the whole nation, and was made an occasion of public festivities. The examination lasted thirty days, and commenced by the neophytes being subjected to rigorous fasts and every hardship and privation which it might in future be their lot to sustain during protracted campaigns; while, according to Garcilasso, these trials were made to subserve the moral purpose of rendering the noble youths more ready to sympathise with those whose fate in life it was to suffer daily such privations. This must, however, be a moral of Garcilasso's own extracting, for in a system as that of Peru, as he himself tells us in other parts of his work, there was no room for poverty; and starvation, sleeping on the bare earth, insufficient covering, &c. cannot have been the conditions of life of any of the inhabitants. Those youths whose bodily strength had proved equal to bear the hardships imposed, were afterwards examined in the various martial exercises in which they were required to be proficient, and were made to prove their prowess in mimic combats. The aspirants who came victorious out of these various trials, and who were pronounced worthy by the aged and experienced nobles who presided as judges, were then presented to the sovereign, who addressed to them a few words, in which he exhorted them to prove themselves in future also worthy of the name of 'Children of the Sun,' and reminded them of their responsibilities as such. The novices then, one at a time, knelt at the feet of the monarch, who pierced their ears with golden bodkins, preparatory to the introduction of the heavy pendants, which formed one of the distinguishing marks of the royal blood, and which produced that deformity of the ear that procured for the Inca nobles the name of *orejones*, or 'the large-eared,' bestowed upon them by the Spaniards. The aspirants thus honoured next turned to the nearest relative of the sovereign, who, unloosing the common sandals which they wore, dressed their feet in others of more costly materials. The neophyte was then invested with the girdle of manhood; on his head was placed a garland of flowers, emblematic of the gentle virtues which would through life be his brightest ornaments; in his hands were placed the arms which he was in future to wield in the service of his country; and the ceremony was complete as regarded the generality of the youths. At this stage of the proceedings, however, the heir to the throne, who until then was in nowise distinguished from his comrades, was further invested with a head-dress, forming his peculiar insignia, and received the homage of the whole of the Inca nobility, who knelt at his feet and recognised him as their future sovereign. The whole assembly then proceeded to the great square of the city, where the public rejoicings began, and where the night was spent with dancing, music, feasting, and drinking.

If we are struck with the resemblance between this ceremony, termed the *huaracu*, to the chivalrous customs of the middle ages, we are still more so with the similarity between the institutions in which a great number of the maidens of the Inca race and the daughters of the curacas received their education, and the conventual establishments of Roman Catholic countries

The ultimate destination of the inmates of the Peruvian convents was, however, very different from that of Catholic nuns; for when they had attained a marriageable age, the most beautiful among them were selected to be the 'Inca's brides,' or, in other words, to stock the Inca's harem, such selection being the greatest honour that could be conferred on a woman of Peru.* At a tender age these maidens, dedicated to the service of the national deity, the Sun, were removed to certain establishments called the 'Houses of the Virgins of the Sun,' which were carefully secluded by high surrounding walls from all intercourse with the world without, and decorated with the same profuse magnificence as all the other edifices in any way connected with religion or with royalty. Here the young girls—placed under the guardianship of elderly and experienced members of the sisterhood, called *mamaconas*, whose life from childhood to old age had been spent within the sacred walls—were instructed in their religious duties, which consisted chiefly in guarding the sacred fire, drawn from heaven by means of a concave mirror of polished metal, at the great festival of the summer solstice, called the feast of *raymi*. They were also taught to spin and weave of the fine wool of the vicuña, and to embroider with many-coloured threads the splendid hangings with which the temples and the royal residences were adorned, and the vestments in which the sacred limbs of the Inca were clad. The most rigorous conventual seclusion reigned in the establishment, the maidens being only allowed to inhale the fresh air in the gardens surrounding their sumptuous homes, and being even cut off from all intercourse with their own relatives from the moment they were dedicated to the Sun. The Inca and the coya, and a certain number of visitors sent yearly to examine into the management and morals of the institutions, were the only persons from the world without allowed to enter the hallowed precincts. Any attempt of unprivileged persons to overstep the consecrated limits was punished with death. On a Virgin of the Sun, detected in a love intrigue, the law of Peru pronounced the same dreadful penalty with which the Romans visited a similar fault in their Vestals; while the lover was to be put to death by strangulation, and the very memory of his existence obliterated from the land by the total destruction of the village or town to which he belonged.

This severity, apparently so little in harmony with the mild and paternal system of government of the Incas, prevailed in all the laws of Peru, and was a necessary consequence of the reverence in which the sovereign, the fountain of the law, was held. Emanating from a ruler supposed to partake of the divine nature, and to be inspired by the great luminary that swayed the destinies of the nation, all the police regulations of the Peruvian empire bore the character of religious laws, and every infringement of them was looked upon as an offence against the divine majesty of the royal person, and was as such punished with death. Rebellion in particular—under all systems of government a crime of most serious character—was in

* So honourable, indeed, was it deemed to hold a place among the thousand 'brides of the Incas,' who formed the ornaments of his court, and waited upon him as his handmaidens, that when the royal personage, for some reason or other, wished to reduce the number of the ladies in his harem, and in consequence sent some of them home to their families, these were ever after treated with particular reverence by their kindred. To the 'Houses of the Sun' they did not, however, again return.

Peru branded as the direst of all misdeeds, and one that admitted of no extenuating circumstances in the case of any of the participants. Accordingly a rebellious population was mercilessly exterminated, and the place of its habitation, whether hamlet, village, or town, converted into a barren and solitary wilderness. The judicial arrangements for enforcing the execution of the laws and punishing every infringer of them were very simple, and being made to harmonise with the general organisation of the state, afforded the same means for direct government control as all the other administrative departments. The captains of tens performed, as has been stated, the functions of public accusers, and reported all offences to regular tribunals of justice established in each small community. These local tribunals were authorised to pass judgment on petty offences; but there being no appeal from the decisions of one tribunal to another, they were to refer the more serious cases to the superior courts, presided over by the governors of the provinces, which were bound to bring to a close within five days every suit brought before them. The inferior magistrates were also obliged to make monthly reports to the superior tribunals of all the cases on which they had passed judgment; and the superiors transmitted these, together with the records of their own proceedings, to the viceroys who governed the four principal divisions of the empire, whence again they were transmitted to the chief seat of government. With a further view to securing a pure administration of justice, royal commissioners traversed the empire at irregular intervals to inquire into the conduct of the various magistrates, who were severely punished if found guilty of any irregularities.

The city of Cuzco was, as we have seen, the nucleus of the empire of the Incas, and gradually only the surrounding country and the more distant tribes were brought under their dominion. The manner in which these successive conquests were accomplished formed an important part of the political system of the Peruvians, and at this we must now cast a glance.

The Inca Manco Capac had laid it down as a general principle, to be followed by his successors, that violent measures for the reduction of the barbarous Indian tribes should not be resorted to until the more pacific and generous expedients of conciliation and benefits had been tried; 'for,' said he, 'the vassals which they gained by fair means would always prove devoted subjects, while from those brought under their dominion by force they might always fear rebellion.' The descendants of Manco Capac seem in the most cases to have adhered faithfully to the rule established by the illustrious founder of their dynasty, and also to have followed the invitation to conquest implied therein. One after another the independent tribes were folded within the embrace of the Incas' empire; but in each successive instance gentle endeavours to establish the worship of the Sun, and to open the eyes of the barbarians to the advantages of civilisation, were made, and incentives held out to them to come and place themselves within its pale, before war was resorted to. But when all other means of persuasion proved incapable of surmounting the love of independence, then the sword was called in to cut the matter short; and thus, though peace ever reigned undisturbed in the bosom of the Incas' dominions, on the frontiers war was as constantly raging. To meet the exigencies of such a state of things, the military system of the country was organised so as to furnish a constant supply of well-trained troops without interfering with the other

regulations of the state. Every man having attained a certain age was, it seems, bound to do military service, but not for any long period at a time, the levies succeeding each other by regular rotation; while a system of drilling, introduced in each village, prepared every man in his turn to fill his place in the army with honour to himself and to his country. The arms in use among the Peruvians were bows and arrows, slings, darts, spears, battle-axes, cutlasses, and wooden clubs studded with metal knobs; the metal used for all these weapons being copper tempered by the peculiar process already adverted to. The defensive armour consisted of doublets of quilted cotton, of shields covered with the skins of animals, and of casques—in some instances made to imitate the heads of wild animals; in others, ornamented with gold and precious stones, and with the brilliant plumes of the tropical birds. These casques were, however, worn by the officers only, the common soldiers having their heads enveloped in a kind of cotton turban. When attacking towns it was customary to discharge into them burning arrows, or stones made red-hot and wrapped in cotton impregnated with a bituminous substance, which alighting on the roofs of houses set them on fire. So far there was nothing peculiar in the Peruvian instruments of war, they being the same as were in use even among all the nations of Europe up to a comparatively recent period. But one weapon the Peruvians possessed, peculiar to the Indian tribes of South America, which took the Spaniards by surprise in their first encounters with this people: this was the *lasso*, still so much in use in those countries, though for more peaceful purposes, and which the Peruvian of the time of the conquest threw as adroitly round the Spanish horse and its rider, so as to bring them both to the ground, as the Pampas hunter of the present day throws it round the wild ox which he wishes to secure. The Peruvian troops were divided into smaller and larger bodies, corresponding to the companies and battalions of modern armies; and the officers rose in like manner in regular gradation from the lowest to the highest, each holding his particular command. Whether a regular army was always kept on foot does not appear in the accounts of the historians of Peru; but even if this were not the case, the perfect organisation of the people, the facility in transmitting messages from one end of the empire to the other by means of the chasquis, and of moving large bodies of men along the excellent roads, enabled the government to draw its troops together in a very short time, and to direct them without loss of time towards any point where their presence was required; while the excellent quarters provided for the soldiers in the large edifices called *tambos*, erected, as we have seen, at intervals along the roads, enabled them to perform the most distant marches without much fatigue. In order that the people who remained at home, and whose industry supplied the labour which was withdrawn from the common stock by the absence of the soldiers, should not have to bear more than their due share of the burdens of war, the armies, instead of being quartered on the people, were provided with all requisites from the great public magazines, and thus was obviated one of the chief causes which make a people disinclined to war. The same tender solicitude for the happiness and the wellbeing of the people which characterised the policy of the Incas in all other matters was extended to the soldiers also. Their comfort was attended to in every way, it being even customary when the

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war threatened to be of long duration, or the climate of the country in which it was carried on proved very unhealthy, to send home the men who had served as long as was deemed consistent with their health, and to fill their places with new recruits.

While the battle raged the full licence of war was allowed to the Peruvian soldiery; but after every victory a pause was made, and following the traditionary policy of his race, the sovereign Inca, who was generally at the head of his army in the field, held out the hand of friendship to the vanquished foe, whose property and person were defended from every unnecessary outrage by the strict discipline of his victorious enemy. When at the head of their armies the Incas seem, however, to have followed more freely the inspirations of their individual passions and propensities than in their internal policy; for while in the latter no irregularities are recorded, the annals of the country recount deeds of atrocious cruelty and violence committed by some of the Incas on the unhappy tribes who too obstinately resisted their attempts at subjugation. These sanguinary characters are, however, exceptions among the Inca sovereigns. The first care of the Incas, after having brought a territory under subjection to themselves, was to establish among their new vassals the worship of the Sun, and the whole of the religious system which formed the solid foundation of their power; but in doing this they proceeded with great moderation and wisdom, avoiding to wound the early prejudices of the conquered people. The idols of the barbarians were neither insulted nor railed at, but were quietly removed out of sight; while temples of the Sun, rivalling in their gorgeous decorations those of the capital, were raised in the midst of their former worshippers, whose imaginations were captivated by the splendid ceremonials of the new religion even before their minds accepted its doctrines. At the same time the chief of the vanquished tribe was carried by the victor to the capital, whence he did not return to govern his people as viceregent of the Inca until his heart had been won by flattery and favours, and he had so thoroughly imbibed the religious views, and so heartily subscribed to the wisdom of the political principles of his conqueror, that his influence over his former subjects was no longer to be feared. In the meanwhile also the territory over which he had once ruled as master had been absorbed and harmonised with the Peruvian system: the extent of its surface was measured, the nature and capability of the soil examined into, the amount of its population numbered, and the same division of property, the same organisation of labour, the same public institutions introduced, as prevailed throughout the rest of the Incas' dominions; and in a few years their national costume, which according to the laws of the Incas could never be changed, was the only distinguishing feature between the old and the new subjects. 'It may seem strange,' says Mr Prescott, 'that any people should patiently have acquiesced in an arrangement which involved such a total surrender of property; but it was a conquered nation that did so, held in awe, on the least suspicion of meditating resistance, by armed garrisons, who were established at various commanding points throughout the country.' But it must also be remembered that, according to the accounts of the same authorities who have described to us the wise policy of the Incas, the tribes successively subjugated by them were in a state of such utter barbarism that notions of property can hardly have been much developed

among them, and from this point of view it is their submission to the strict discipline of the Peruvian system which is the most amazing; while, on the other hand, if, judging by monumental evidence, we believe that the civilisation of the Incas had originated in the very territories into which they spread their subsequent conquests, it is not improbable that the original state of things in the conquered provinces bore some affinity to that which they sought to introduce.

Besides their military force the Incas had other means of breaking the spirit of revolt, which were more consonant with the general spirit of their policy. Not the least effectual among these expedients was the transplanting masses of the disaffected populations to territories in the interior, where, being surrounded by the loyal inhabitants of these parts, their hostility would be innoxious and be ultimately overcome; while an equal number of the ancient and faithful subjects of the Inca took their places in their former homes, and inoculated the remainder of the tribe with the spirit of submission and affection, or at least acted as a check on any desperate attempt. But even when adopting a measure so rigorous as this, the Inca tempered the despotism of the act with considerate kindness, for care was taken that the *mitimaes*—as the transplanted populations were termed—should not be subjected to conditions of climate and temperature different to those under which they were born, and which might therefore act injuriously on their health; and it is even maintained that their previous habits of life and occupations were consulted, and that each was placed in a position to continue these in his new abode. The crowning measure of all for the establishment of that uniformity which was the alpha and omega of the Incas' policy was, however, the introduction of a common idiom among the various tribes which were brought under their dominion. In the southern as well as the northern continent of America the Indian tribes, though evidently springing from one common root, and though in many respects, even in their state of separation, so little dissimilar, in point of language were so completely dis severed that the dialect of the one was quite incomprehensible to the other. Among the dialects of South America the Quichua, spoken by the people of Cuzco and the surrounding country, is considered one of the richest and most beautiful, and this it was that the Incas endeavoured to establish throughout their dominions, so that no hinderances should impede the rapid transmission of the sovereign's decrees and regulations, emitted at the centre, to the farthest extremities of the body politic. For this purpose teachers were established in every community to impart to the people the language of the Inca, a knowledge of which was a necessary condition for holding any office of trust.

When, after surveying this most remarkable political mechanism and the comparatively high state of civilisation it had fostered, we endeavour to obtain some insight into its effects on the moral and intellectual condition of the people, we are struck with the great discrepancy between the grand results apparent on the surface, and those manifestations of a people's life which testify to the action and reaction of mind upon mind, and shew the value of the individuals composing the community. Nowhere can we trace that diversity and progression which are the evidences of vitality in the body politic. Everywhere we meet with uniformity and apparent

stagnation, with the ideas of one single mind, as it were, slavishly carried out by succeeding generations. 'It is impossible to examine a single edifice of the time of the Incas,' says M. de Humboldt, 'without recognising the same type in all the others that cover the ridge of the Andes, over an extent of more than 450 leagues, from about 3000 to 12,000 feet above the level of the ocean. It might be said that a single architect constructed this great number of monuments.' In this respect these architectural monuments seem to be true types of the national character. Individuality was crushed beneath the rigid system, which allowed no man, whatever his natural abilities, to rise above the station which the state had assigned to him; there was no struggle for pre-eminence in a race in which all were allowed to take part; the whole nation marched in rank and file, the step of each and all being regulated by the beat of the ruler's drum; and the great problem of society—the progress of all by the full and free development of each—seemed rendered impossible of solution.

Commerce, which is one of the greatest incentives to enterprise, and as such, in the earlier stages of civilisation, the greatest promoter of individual development, was rendered impossible by the singular organisation of property and of labour; and thus, though the empire was bordered in its whole length by the ocean, and though the Peruvians were in possession of vessels which in point of construction were not perhaps inferior to those in which the hardy Northmen of the tenth century braved the dangers of the Arctic Ocean, they never attempted the navigation of the open seas, but contented themselves with using their vessels or *balsas* for conveying provisions from one point of the coast to another.

So inactive, indeed, was the intellectual life of the Peruvians, that this people, having attained to no mean degree of social refinement, were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, even in its most primitive forms of picture-writing and hieroglyphics—the only visible symbols of thought known among them being cords of various colours and shades suspended from a string in the manner of a fringe, and which by means of knots, combined in many arbitrary ways, formed a complicated method of expression and calculation. It will readily be understood that such a contrivance, however ably managed, was very deficient in the power of expression in a connected form, or as a means of giving utterance to thoughts of a purely intellectual character; that it could indeed merely suggest isolated ideas, and such only as had reference to known facts or tangible objects; and that it could not fulfil any of the requirements of a literature, properly so called. Such, therefore, the Peruvians had not. As regards history, the *quipus*, as the knotted cords were called, seem to have served mostly as a system of mnemonics to enable the *amautas* (the men of science) and the *haravees* (the poets) to recall to mind in due succession those events of public importance which it was their duty to learn by rote, and to transmit orally from generation to generation. In so far the *quipus*, all imperfect as they were, must be considered an advance upon the state of barbarism wherein no such help to the memory exists, and during which no approach has been made even towards so defective a means of symbolising thought; yet as far as the Peruvian traditions are known to us, they are by no means so rich in historical incidents or in religious myths—those products of a barbarous people's unconscious poetising—as are those of the barbarous

nations of Europe, who had no such mechanical helps for recording the events and imaginings of the past. Whether this be owing to the little pains taken after the conquest to gather from the lips of the people those national traditions and poems which must then still have been fresh in their memories, or from a real paucity of materials, it is difficult to say; but judging from such as are known, we cannot help thinking that here again the influence of the peculiar system of government may be traced, for the little that is related all bears reference to the sovereign Inca, who in war or in peace is allowed no competitor, and whose glory does not only eclipse that of all other individuals, but absorbs all the interest attached to their characters and activity. In their history as in their polity the Incas alone appear as the living principle that puts the mechanism in motion.

As a means of registering the various statistical facts, of which—for purposes of administration—the government was to be kept constantly informed, the quipus seem to have answered admirably; for the colours of the cords having each a distinct signification, and the knots denoting numbers, even complicated calculations were rendered comparatively easy. The various records kept were placed under the care of the *quipucamayus*, or keepers of the quipus, who had under them a numerous body of public registrars, each district having several functionaries of the kind appointed by government to the various departments of administration. Subordinate annalists were also appointed in all the principal communities, to keep account of the passing events there; the *amautas* being of a superior rank, and having merely to chronicle the deeds of the reigning Inca, and to compose the general history of the empire.

In science the Peruvians were inferior even to the Mexicans and to several South American tribes. In geography, indeed, they had advanced so far as to have a pretty fair knowledge of their own extensive empire, and even to have mimic representations—which some have honoured with the name of maps—of the various provinces and cities, with their boundaries, their roads, their rivers, their mountains, and their plains; and into the composition of which, according to Garcilasso, entered earth, pebbles, bits of wood, &c. Of geometry, according to the same author, they understood as much as was required for the measurement of their lands, yet by his own shewing these measurements were made in a manner purely mechanical. Of those engraved calendar stones which were in use among the Mexicans, the Muyscas, and other Indian tribes, and which have enabled antiquarians to form such correct notions of the extent of astronomical science among those nations, no traces have been found in Peru; while such of the notions of the Peruvians regarding the phenomena of the heavens, as well as their methods of calculation, which have been recorded by the early Spanish writers, prove but a very superficial knowledge of the celestial mechanism. The year they divided into twelve parts called *quilla*, from the name of the moon; and these lunar months they divided into light and dark halves, which were again subdivided into weeks of seven days, according to some; of nine and ten days, according to others. The discrepancy between their lunar year and the solar year, which they could not fail to remark, they failed, however, to adjust, though they observed the returns of the solstices and the equinoxes by means of round towers erected for the purpose. Each of these periods, we have seen, was

celebrated as a religious festival, because marking a phase in the life of their great luminous divinity; but the equinoxes in particular were occasions for public rejoicing, as then it was believed the Sun descended and abode for a short while among his children. The exact period of the equinox was ascertained by means of a richly-ornamented column, raised in the large open area in front of the principal temple of the Sun in each city. Round this column or gnomon was traced a circle, which was traversed by a diameter from east to west. Here the priests assembled each day towards the expected epoch to mark, by the shadows of the column on the line, its gradual approach. When the noontide rays of the sun, falling almost vertically on the gnomon, rendered the shadows scarcely visible, the god was supposed to 'sit with all his light upon it;' a golden chair, called the throne of the Sun, was raised to the summit; the column was wound round with flowers and odoriferous plants, and offerings were made of the various products of the earth and of the ingenuity of man. The personal presence of the Sun on this occasion may have been, and probably was but a poetical trope, and the same may have been the case with the causes assigned for the eclipses of the sun and the moon; yet the childish fear which these phenomena inspired proves that their true causes—which the calendar-stone of the Aztecs of Mexico shews to have been well known to that people—were not divined by the Peruvians. An eclipse of the sun, more especially, was in their eyes an event of fearful import, for anger at some national misdeed was supposed to be the cause of the deity averting his face from his worshippers, and sacrifices were made to turn aside the consequences of his wrath. As for the moon, her occasional disappearance was attributed to indisposition, and the utmost anxiety was felt for her speedy recovery, as a protracted illness, it was believed, must infallibly end in her death, when she would fall from heaven, and mankind and the world would perish with her. The means resorted to for restoring the health of the suffering goddess were not of a very tender nature. A deafening noise was made with trumpets, cymbals, and every other kind of sounding instrument known to the people; and if this was found insufficient to recover her from her supposed swoon, all the dogs in the country were beaten to make them howl and bark, in the hope that the cries of these animals, for whom she was believed to have a particular affection, would rouse her from her state of supineness. In addition to this all young girls and boys throughout the empire were made to implore *Mama Quilla*, or Mother Moon, not to allow herself to die. And when at length the luminary reappeared in her usual splendour, she was humbly thanked for not having died, and for having thus saved the world from destruction.

Besides the sun and the moon the planet Venus seems to have been the only heavenly body that attracted the attention of the Peruvians, and she owed this distinction to her being an attendant of the sun. It is not, however, impossible that further researches among the antiquities of South America may prove the ignorance of the Peruvians in point of astronomy not to have been so great as it would appear from the meagre accounts of the Spaniards regarding their cycles and calculations. An enthusiastic American antiquary* has indeed suggested that a clue to the real division

* Bradford—American Antiquities. New York: Dayton and Sarton. 1841.

of time among the Peruvians, or to the construction of one of their calendars, may perhaps be found in the eighteen niches which so constantly recur in their monuments. This he presumes may indicate a division of the year into eighteen months, as was the case among the Mexicans; and if so, we may conclude that among the Peruvians, as among the Mexicans, this division was adopted with a view to the adjustment of the lunar and the solar year, and that altogether the difference in the degree of knowledge between the two nations was not so great. The apparent inferiority of the Peruvians in intellectual culture to the Aztecs—whom in the art of constructing roads, aqueducts, canals, and bridges, as in all the details of agriculture and manufactures, they so much excelled—has on the other side been explained by the probability of the Mexicans being indebted for their science to the Toltecs, the race who preceded them in the occupation of the territory of Anahuac, and whose origin, as well as whose ultimate fate, is enveloped in mystery, but to whom are attributed those noble architectural ruins spread over the country which served the Aztecs as models, and who, it is thought, may possibly have been the builders of the cities in Central America, the ruins of which have given rise to so much speculation. But Peruvian civilisation does not either seem to have been the spontaneous growth of the territory in which it was developed, for independently of the suggestion contained in the legend of Manco Capac and Mama Oello, there are other evidences in favour of the supposition that the creative and fundamental ideas of the Peruvian empire sprang from a foreign source. Though it was the worship of the Sun which constituted the strong tie that bound together sovereign and people, and formed the basis of the social polity, there were current among the Peruvians higher and purer religious notions, so much at variance with the puerile fancies described above, and with the whole intellectual development of the people, that it is impossible to believe them to have been the product of their own yearnings and aspirations towards the infinite, and which must therefore have been received from a people intellectually and morally their superiors; for among the Peruvians it must be remembered there was no priesthood forming an exclusive caste and devoted to a life of observation and meditation, who might in consequence have attained to the higher truths which had failed to take hold of the popular mind.

The religious ideas to which we allude were the belief in one great spirit, creator of the universe, whom they ventured not to represent in any bodily form, and whom they worshipped under the name of Viracocha or Pachacamac—the latter signifying, 'He who gives life to the universe.' They also believed in the continued life of the soul after its separation from the body, and, as we have seen, in the possibility of a second union between the two, for which reason the body was so carefully preserved. The doctrine of future rewards and punishments also entered into their theology—the former being supposed to consist in a life of luxurious idleness and peace, the latter in one of unceasing toil—while some vague and floating notions were also entertained of an evil spirit called Cupay. To the Creator of the universe one temple only was consecrated in the empire of the Incas, and that, traditions said, stood there before the country came under their dominion. Garcilasso de la Vega—who, as a descendant of the Incas, has endeavoured in every way to surround their name with a glory that he

concedes to no other Indian tribes—maintains indeed that before the advent of the 'Children of the Sun' the inhabitants of all the territories subsequently brought under their dominion were savages of brutal habits, who went naked, subsisted upon roots, and lived in caverns; and at the commencement of his history represents the Incas as having taught them to cultivate the earth, to build stone edifices, and to weave and to spin. Subsequently, however, when speaking of the conquests of Maytu Capac, the fourth Inca, he makes mention of the city of Tiaguanico—situated near Lake Titicaca, in the territory of the tribe against whom Maytu Capac was waging war—some of the buildings in which were so remarkable that he stops to describe them in the words of Pedro de Cieja de Leon, one of the conquerors, who, in his 'Chronicles of Peru,' makes the following mention of the ruins:—'Tiaguanico is not a very large town, but it is deserving of notice on account of the great edifices which are to be seen in it; near the principal of these is an artificial hill raised on a groundwork of stone. Beyond this hill are two stone idols resembling the human figure, and apparently formed by skilful artificers. They are of somewhat gigantic size, and appear clothed in long vestments differing from those now worn by the natives of these provinces, and their heads are also ornamented. Near these statues is an edifice, which, on account of its antiquity and the absence of letters, leaves us in ignorance of the people who constructed it; and such, indeed, has been the lapse of time since its erection, that little remains but a well-built wall, which must have been there for ages, for the stones are very much worn and crumbled. In this place also there are stones so large and so overgrown, that our wonder is excited to comprehend how the power of man could have placed them where we see them. Many of these stones are variously wrought, and some, having the form of men, must have been their idols. Near the wall are many caves and excavations under the earth; but in another place more to the west are other and greater monuments, consisting of large gateways and their hinges, platforms, and porches, each of a single stone.

'What most surprised me while engaged in examining and recording these things, was that the above enormous gateways were formed on other great masses of stone, some of which were thirty feet long, fifteen feet wide, and six feet thick. Nor can I conceive with what tools or instruments those stones were hewn out, for it is obvious that before they were wrought and brought to perfection, they must have been vastly larger than we now see them.* But before I proceed to a further account of Tiaguanico, I must remark that this monument is the most ancient in Peru, for it is supposed that some of these structures were built long before the dominion of the Incas; and I have heard the Indians affirm that these sovereigns constructed their great building in Cuzco after the plan of the walls of Tiaguanico.' This description is borne out by Diego d'Alcobaça, a Spanish missionary, likewise quoted by Garcilasso de la Vega, and according to whom the natives believed that the gigantic buildings in Tiaguanico had been dedicated to the Creator of the universe.

* The removal of columns forty feet high, and consisting of one block of granite, from the quarries in Finland to the site of the church of St Isaac in St Petersburg, for which they were destined, is reckoned among the triumphs of modern mechanical science.

Here, then, we have not only proofs of a civilisation prior to that of the empire of the Incas, but indications, vague it is true, but nevertheless significant, of a connection between this civilisation and the purer religious tenets above alluded to. It is not, however, merely between the Peruvians and some anterior civilisation which these ruins and those religious ideas establish a connection, but between this early civilisation and all the tribes of South America; for modern research has not only demonstrated the existence of semi-civilised tribes on various points of that vast continent, beyond the limits of the Peruvian empire, but also a striking affinity between the architecture, the religious ideas, the traditions, and the customs, of the most modern and the most ancient civilisation on that continent, and of the most barbarous and the most cultivated of the tribes; while the contents of the tombs, spread over the length and breadth of the land, sometimes prove the relations which have existed between the most distant localities. Want of space precludes us from entering on a detailed account of the analogies found between the various monuments of aboriginal civilisation in South America, or of the indications of a common origin which have been traced between this civilisation and that of the Toltecs, the Olmecs, the Aztecs, and other nations of North America; nor can we more than allude to the symptoms of a downward course, from a civilised to a savage state, which have been observed in the southern as well as the northern continent of the New World.

However powerful it might have been with regard to the gradual absorption of semi-barbarous tribes of the same nation, and whatever principles of vitality it may have possessed if attacked by no superior force from without, a political system like that of Peru was little calculated to resist such power as was brought to bear against it by the Spanish conquerors. Living intellects, ready to seize upon every point of advantage, unfettered individual activity, left free to develop itself in every direction where it was needed, were brought into contact with a dead system of traditionary rules, and life conquered death. Though it is generally maintained that it was the superiority of European over Indian civilisation which enabled a handful of Spaniards in a few years to spread their dominion over a whole new world, this superiority was in the minds of the men, not in the arts which they wielded. It was not the discipline of the Spanish troops, nor the imposing appearance of their cavalry, nor the superiority of their weapons, or even of their strategical art, which gave the victory to the Europeans—but the genius of the men, developed under a system which gave free scope to individual character and capacities, which allowed each individual to carve out for himself the position for which nature had qualified him, which afforded incentives to ambition, and which inspired the desire for action and distinction. It is curious to mark the contrast between the material power of the empire of which we have attempted a sketch, and that of the troop of Spaniards who assailed it, and within a few brief months became its masters. It is true a departure from the traditionary rules of the Inca policy had been made shortly previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, and had introduced discord into the formerly so peaceful empire. The Inca Huayna Capac—during whose reign the whole of the powerful state of Quito was added to the Peruvian empire—in dying bequeathed this latter conquest to his youngest son Atahualpa, and thus for the first

time divided the inheritance of the Children of the Sun. Atahualpa, who was a young man of boundless ambition and warlike character, not content with having deprived the rightful heir of half the dominions which ought in justice to have been his, next laid claim to the other half also, and in consequence several years of sanguinary civil wars devastated the country. By the time Pizarro and his feeble force landed at Tumbes with a view to the subjugation of the empire, Huascar, the rightful monarch, had, however, succumbed; and the usurper, having encircled his brows with the royal borla, exercised as absolute sway as any previous Inca over the extended empire, the whole of whose resources were at his command to check the invasion of the white men.

Atahualpa was at Caxamalca—the present Caxamarca—at the head of an army of 60,000 well-appointed troops, when Pizarro, with a force numbering 177 men—of which sixty-seven only were cavalry, three arquebusiers, and about twenty cross-bowmen—commenced his expedition across the country to beard the lion in his den. The hostile intentions of the Spanish commander were, however, carefully concealed; strict discipline was maintained in his little army, and the hospitality he claimed as a peaceful envoy from a foreign monarch was therefore cheerfully granted. But as the Spaniards drew nigh to headquarters, and interchanged messages with the sovereign, it became more and more evident to them that their ultimate objects were suspected, and that they ought to be prepared for all contingencies; and when Pizarro at length beheld the white pavilions of the Peruvian camp covering the ground for a space of several miles; when he saw the admirable discipline of the troops, and the many other evidences of the high state of civilisation of the country, and the power of the monarch, he became convinced that a bold stroke of genius only could save him and his companions, and render future success possible. To seize the person of the Inca in the very presence of his own army was the plan projected by the dauntless and unscrupulous Spaniard, and executed by him with singular boldness and success. The results of this audacious step must indeed have far surpassed Pizarro's most sanguine expectations, for the wheel which set the mechanism in motion being withdrawn, the state was paralysed at one fell blow, and the mighty empire lay prostrate at the feet of a few foreign adventurers. As long, indeed, as the Inca lived, though a captive, the bond which held the state together was not quite dissevered, for his wishes, transmitted to his people through his captors, were still revered by them as law. But after the cruel policy of Pizarro had induced him to put his unhappy captive to death, and the Peruvians saw that the power of the Children of the Sun was passed away for ever, then the beautiful fabric reared with so much care fell to the ground by its own weight; and the people passed without resistance from a state of pupillage to a state of slavery. Little more than ten years after Pizarro's first landing every vestige of the elaborate system which we have described had disappeared; and the state to which the country was reduced is thus eloquently described by Mr Prescott:—

'The kingdom had experienced a revolution of the most decisive kind. Its ancient institutions were subverted; its heaven-descended aristocracy were levelled almost to the condition of the peasant; the people became the serfs of the conquerors; their dwellings in the capital were seized

and appropriated; the temples were turned into stables, the royal residences into barracks for the troops; the sanctity of the religious houses was violated. . . . Intoxicated by the unaccustomed possession of power, and without the least notion of the responsibilities which attached to their situation as masters of the land, they (the Spaniards) too often abandoned themselves to the indulgence of every whim which cruelty or caprice could dictate. Not unfrequently, says an unsuspected witness, I have seen the Spaniards, long after the conquest, amuse themselves by hunting down the natives with bloodhounds for mere sport, or in order to train their dogs to the game! The most unbounded scope was given to licentiousness: the young maiden was torn without remorse from the arms of her family to gratify the passion of her brutal conqueror; the sacred houses of the Virgins of the Sun were broken open and violated, and the cavalier swelled his harem with a troop of Indian girls, making it seem that the crescent would have been a much more fitting symbol for his banner than the immaculate cross. But the dominant passion of the Spaniard was the lust of gold. For this he shrank from no toil himself, and was merciless in his exactions of labour from his Indian slave. Unfortunately Peru abounded in mines which too well repaid this labour, and human life was the item of least account in the estimate of the conquerors. Under his Incas the Peruvian was never suffered to be idle, but the task imposed on him was always proportionate to his strength. He had his seasons of rest and refreshment, and was well protected against the inclemency of the weather; every care was shewn for his personal safety; but the Spaniards, while they taxed the strength of the native to the utmost, deprived him of the means of repairing it when exhausted. They suffered the provident arrangements of the Incas to fall into decay; the granaries were emptied; the flocks were wasted in riotous living; they were slaughtered to gratify a mere epicurean whim; and many a llama was destroyed solely for the sake of the brains, a dainty morsel much coveted by the Spaniards. So reckless was the spirit of destruction after the conquest, says Ondegardo, the wise governor of Cuzco, that in four years more of these animals perished than in 400 in the times of the Incas. The flocks, once so numerous over the broad table-lands, were now thinned to a scanty number, that sought shelter in the fastnesses of the Andes. The poor Indian, without food, without the warm fleece which furnished him a defence against the cold, now wandered half-starved and naked over the plateau; and many an Inca noble roamed a mendicant over the lands where he once held rule; and if driven, perchance by his necessities, to purloin something from the superfluity of his conquerors, he expiated it by a miserable death.'

MARFRED A; OR, THE ICELANDERS.

‘THE day is closing fast, my Marfreda; it is time that you should hang up the lamp in the *badstofa* (principal apartment), and that we prepare the evening meal.’ These words were addressed by an elderly female to a young and beautiful girl. The scene was a farmhouse in the north-eastern part of Iceland. The girl had been standing for some time at the door of the house, looking out upon the widely-extended landscape which lay before her, quickly fading from her view as daylight died away.

‘Not yet, dear mother,’ she replied, as she took another anxious glance; ‘not yet: it is not so late as you suppose. I can still see the tall summit of Herdubried, and even the smoky column ascending from it; and look, it is only now that the reindeer are going home to their lair in the distant valley. How beautiful they are!’ She stood apparently gazing on the progress of a large flock of these magnificent animals, and it was a sight which might well claim admiration even from one who had so often witnessed it. They were more than fifty in number, and were under the guidance of a noble stag which led the van, and which, as they marched slowly across the plain, now and then turned round his stately head to inspect the state of his troops. A footstep was heard in a thicket near the dwelling.

‘Is that Semund?’ cried the young girl; but she was answered by an elderly man who approached the door.

‘No, sweet Marfreda, not Semund, but his father. And why, my child, do you stand here exposing that slight form to the harsh wind of night?’

‘I was looking at the reindeer, father,’ she replied, colouring slightly, and pointing towards them. The old man’s eye followed the direction of her hand.

‘Yes, a noble sight it is, and reminds me of what is said of the wilderness in Job: “Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwelling; the range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing.” But come in, my child—the darkness and cold increase.’

‘So I have been telling her until I am weary,’ said the elderly female, advancing and helping her husband to fasten the house-door; ‘but Marfreda has been standing there listening to the melancholy warbling of the plover till its last note died into silence. Have you not, my child?’

‘No, mother, I heard it not,’ answered the maiden, as she followed the venerable couple to the large apartment where the whole family, including

domestics, were assembled to spend the long evening. 'No, mother; I was listening for the voice of Semund: it is time he had returned.' The mother looked rather anxious at this remark, but busied herself in household matters; the other members of the family settling to their wonted employments.

A winter evening in an Icelandic family presents a scene interesting and pleasing. The master, mistress, and young girl whom we have just introduced to our readers, seated themselves at the inner end of the large apartment, the remainder of which was occupied by their servants and assistants in the work of the farm. Marfreda placed herself before an embroidery-frame, and seemed busily employed in working a bedcover with wreaths of flowers—an art in which her countrywomen are adepts: the other females were knitting or spinning with the distaff. One or two of the men were busy in making necessary instruments of wood and copper, and one was even engaged in the work of a silversmith: there being no manufacture carried on as a trade, the peasants are all ingenious, and fabricate such things as they require. One was engaged in writing; and the master, who was also clergyman of the district, had placed himself near the lamp, which was suspended in the middle of the room, and prepared to read aloud one of the Sagas, or historical compositions of the Icelanders, which are numerous; but the Sira Hialte Erlandson had not proceeded far in his legend when his wife, after some ineffectual efforts to attend to it, interrupted him by saying: 'Marfreda, you have been all this evening uneasy at our Semund's delay in returning, and a thought has just occurred to me which perhaps accounts for this anxiety: tell me, dear child, have any new tidings troubled you?' The old man laid down his book.

'Have they, Marfreda?' he inquired with a look of alarm.

'Not much, father,' she replied. 'Nothing but that some masses of ice have floated towards our coast: a neighbour from the next *sarin* told me so.'

'And they came not empty, I suppose?' inquired the anxious mother.

'No, mother; a bear, an immense bear, came on one of them, and landed on our coast not far from Lake Myvatu, where Semund went this morning to fish.' A silence followed: the usual placidity of the father's countenance had given way to a slight expression of uneasiness; the mother clasped her hands and looked upwards, as if invoking protection for her son; Marfreda bent her head over the embroidery, and a few tears fell upon the flowers she wrought. Various stories of bears—those ferocious visitors from Greenland that too often are borne to their coast upon masses of floating ice—were recited by various members of the household. The time for supper was gone by; but still the meal was deferred in hope of the wanderer's return, and increased anxiety again produced silence, when a knock at the door, and the voice of Semund desiring admittance, dispelled their fears. He soon entered, and with him a stranger, whose appearance and dress at once announced him to be a foreigner.

'*Her se Gud!*—'May God be in this place!' said the young Icelandic, the salutation usual in the country, which was answered with 'The Lord bless thee!'

'I bring you, father and mother dear,' he rejoined, 'a stranger from the distant shore of England. I have promised him a kind welcome, and such entertainment as is in our power to bestow.'

'Welcome!' resounded on all sides.

The venerable pastor took the stranger's hand and led him to the bright wood-fire, seating him on the best chair, the cushions of which, embroidered and filled with the soft down of the eider-duck, presented an appearance of comfort to a weary traveller. The matron, 'on hospitable thoughts intent,' soon brought him a cup of coffee; and having quaffed a beverage that could not have been excelled in Turkey, he seemed much refreshed, and addressing his kind entertainers in their own language, which he spoke tolerably well, he returned thanks for their hospitality. He was a young man, not much above the common height, but with an air of dignity and elegance that bespoke him to be of gentle blood—an advantage his entertainers could appreciate, as there are no people more tenacious of genealogical descent than the natives of this solitary island. His handsome features denoted intelligence, and were radiant with an animation strongly contrasting with the calm, thoughtful expression characteristic of those around him. He was beginning to enter on an explanation of his unexpected appearance, when the Sira Hialte interrupted him, saying: 'Not yet: for the present we are satisfied with the pleasure of knowing you are here; when you are refreshed you can explain how you came. Supper is ready. Marfeda, forget not your share in the duty of administering to the comfort of our guest.'

The young maiden, who had been in the background conversing with Semund, now moved forward, and suddenly stood before the stranger. She was a beautiful and graceful-looking girl, her eyes of deep blue; a profusion of brown hair was confined by the *faldur*, or white turban worn by Icelandic women; her cheek was covered with blushes, and her eyes cast timidly downwards. Still there was a slight curl about her short upper lip which denoted something of spirit and dignity within. Over her blue dress she wore an apron bordered with black velvet, and a bodice of red, with tight sleeves, the seams of which were covered with stripes of velvet; and in front two borders of the same, elegantly ornamented with five or six silver clasps and lace embroidery; round her swan-like neck was a ruff of black velvet nicely embroidered with silver. The visitor almost started when this bright vision appeared before him: but his surprise increased when she immediately dropped on one knee, and laying a pair of slippers near his feet, attempted to take off his shoes, torn and soiled as they were by his walk over lava rocks. It was in vain, however, to remonstrate against a rite of hospitality so incompatible with the respect due to the gentle sex: he was assured that it could not be dispensed with, and was obliged to submit. In a few minutes the whole family were seated at the supper-table; and after the pastor had asked a blessing, they commenced their primitive repast of smoked mutton—served up on a large pewter dish—and boiled rice and milk, with cakes made of wild corn, which grew plentifully among the sand and ashes that cover the ground around a volcanic mountain not far distant. A preserve of blue-berries with rich cream closed the entertainment, the only beverage being *blanda*, a kind of whey mixed with water. When supper was ended the pastor returned thanks, the whole family, with clasped hands and serious countenances, appearing to join in his devotion. They then resumed their former employments, the stranger being reseated in the chair of state.

'I may now explain the cause of my intrusion,' he said; 'and I will commence by telling you that I owe to my young friend here—looking at Semund—not only the pleasure of experiencing your kindness, but also the preservation of my life. I am a traveller from the British isles, and having spent some time in Norway, where I acquired your language, feeling a desire to visit this country, I obtained a passage in a ship to Reikiavik; and taking advantage of some delay which the vessel will have in that port, set out to visit your magnificent geysers, though warned that it was too early in the season to travel in these regions with convenience. The various natural wonders of your scenery lured me on to this neighbourhood. In a farmhouse not far hence where I lodged last night I heard of the lake Myvatn, and set out early this morning to see it. And never can I forget that sight: the vast fields of black lava that surround its waters; the barren hills beyond; and still farther off the red conical mountains, with volumes of smoke rising from their summits; the dark wide lake, studded with little black islands of lava; the deathlike silence; the dismal gloom pervading the whole desolate region.'

'Did it not remind you of Strabo's awful description of the Dead Sea?' inquired the old Hialte, who seemed pleased with his guest's enthusiastic admiration of his native scenes.

'Yes, sir: at least I was reminded of accounts given of that place by Oriental travellers; and while the horses were quietly grazing on the only spot of verdure the scene afforded, I foolishly left my guide, and wandered off among rocks and hills. I gazed sometimes on the wonders around, and sometimes, as it were, rested my mind by watching the flight of the eider-duck, or the springing of the trout from the lake, where, I was surprised to find, they abound, notwithstanding the boiling fountains which keep its waters tepid continually. But when I wanted to return to the guide and horses I found it impossible to retrace my steps, and was considering what to do, or how to extricate myself from the rocky labyrinth, when I observed at some distance a person who appeared to have been fishing in the lake. In trying to make my way to him, I perceived an enormous bear not many yards from where I was, and evidently looking at me with a wish for a closer acquaintance. As you may well imagine, my good friends, I lost no time in deliberating, but rushed on as fast as I could, the enemy pursuing and gaining ground. Doubtless he would have accomplished his purpose had not the fisherman seen the danger and hazarded his own life to save mine.' Here he took Semund's hand and pressed it with affectionate gratitude. 'He ran up the slope which I had ascended, and soon overtook me. "Fear not," he cried; "only attend to my directions, and, with the help of Him by whom the hairs of your head are numbered, we shall soon be safe." He drew a mitten from his hand, flung it on the path, and led me on towards a thicket which was at a distance. "Now," he said, "our pursuer will stop to take up that mitten, his olfactory nerves being attracted by what a human being has worn; he will turn every finger of it inside out before he proceeds, and we shall have gained the time which he takes to make his investigation." Accordingly the heavy tread of the bear ceased when he came up to where the lure had fallen. After awhile we again heard him following; but my deliverer had a *corps de reserve*: the other mitten was dropped, the enemy again delayed; and we had gained our city of refuge—

the thicket—and before he resumed the chase were safe where he could not follow. After remaining there as long as my young friend deemed it prudent, we proceeded hither, where I have been received with a kindness I can never forget.

'Speak not of it,' his host courteously replied. 'No duty is more plainly enforced in God's Word than hospitality. Besides, in the present instance, we have the privilege of entertaining such a guest as may not again visit our remote region for a century to come. Few of your countrymen think us worth visiting.'

'They are mistaken then,' replied the stranger. 'During my short sojourn among your people I have been not only delighted by their kindness, but astonished at their various information. How can they have acquired it?'

'By books,' answered the pastor. 'The poorest peasant can read and write. These arts were acquired by our ancestors at a remote period, and have been transmitted from father to son'—

'Ah, but we can make little use of them,' interrupted young Semund: 'we have few, very few books, and no means of obtaining more.'

'Perhaps, my son,' observed his father, 'the privation may have its use, in leading us to study with the more attention those we possess, particularly the best of books, to which we now have free access—thanks, sir, to your country and its glorious Bible Society'—bowing to the stranger.

'But still,' said Semund, 'it is hard to know that thousands of books exist—that fountains of knowledge are flowing of which we, though athirst, can never drink.'

'Are books, then, so scarce in your language?' inquired the stranger.

'So scarce, owing to the difficulties of publication,' replied his young friend, 'that when we borrow one we frequently transcribe it. Here, sir, is a specimen.'

One of the menials, an elderly man, had been writing at the other end of the room during this conversation. Semund brought the paper on which he wrote to the stranger, who was surprised to find it an Icelandic translation of 'Paradise Lost,' written in a hand that resembled beautiful copperplate. Noticing his surprise, Semund continued: 'This makes most of us adepts in the mechanical part of the art of writing: we by turns transcribe during our long evenings, and thus increase our libraries. But here is some writing which excels the rest in elegance.'

'Surely these characters must have been traced by the hand of a fairy!' said the stranger, after examining it.

'Marfreda wrote this: she excels us all.'

'Oh, who would not excel in transcribing the poetry of Milton?' exclaimed the young caligrapher. 'There is in it such inspiration as affects even the movement of the hand.' Her beautiful features were lit up with enthusiasm as the traveller gazed on them. 'Who would have expected this in an Icelandic cottage?' thought he. 'I never much sympathised in the poetical raptures of young ladies, but *this* is all real. How strange!' The conversation soon became general, and led to frequent recurrence in the stranger's mind of the thought: 'How strange!—in an Icelandic cottage!' Being a person of cultivated mind and refined taste—consequently qualified to give his entertainers information touching many

things which had not yet reached their shore—they were as much pleased with his society as he with theirs. At length the mistress of the family suggesting that the hour of rest had arrived, after the Sira Hialte had read the Scriptures and prayed, she led their guest to his chamber, Marfreda attending, bearing a bowl of milk to lay on his table, as is the custom of her country.

‘How many children have you, may I ask?’ inquired the guest.

‘Three, sir,’ she replied. ‘Semund, who is here with me, and the other two are with God.’

‘And is not this fair young lady your daughter, madam?’

‘No, sir: she is dear to our hearts as if she were; but she is only our ward, and her name is Marfreda Vidalin.’

‘And mine Henry O’More,’ he answered, bowing to both the ladies, who then left him to repose.

A night of profound slumber refreshed the weary traveller, and with renovated strength and spirits he joined his hospitable entertainers on the following morning. In the gathering of the Sira Hialte’s household around his breakfast-table a custom strongly indicative of the religious feelings so universal among the people of Iceland was observed. Not one of them, on leaving his sleeping-apartment, saluted any person until he had first hastened to the door of the dwelling, and looking out upon the surrounding landscape, where the shadows of night were melting away before the light of morning, lifting up his eyes, and we may hope his heart, to Heaven, adored Him who made both heaven and earth. While partaking of their plentiful but primitive repast, the stranger was so much pleased with their kindness that he had not much difficulty in yielding to their eager request that he would remain with them until he had seen some of the natural curiosities with which their neighbourhood abounded. A desire to become better acquainted with the character and habits of this primitive race—so little known, and so different from the idea he had formed of them—influenced him in the decision to avail himself of the invitation; and perhaps this desire was somewhat increased by the grace and beauty of Marfreda Vidalin, and the unexpected discovery that this *élève* of an Icelandic cottage possessed not only a naturally superior mind, but one which had been cultivated by accessions of knowledge, such as are not often attained by her sex under far more favourable circumstances. His guide had found him out, and brought his travelling-bag; and he at once agreed to remain for some time as the guest of the Sira Hialte and his family, where every person and everything seemed to afford a subject of interesting investigation.

As for Semund Erlandson he felt not only gratitude as his deliverer, but a great wish to become better acquainted with him. This young man seemed to be about two-and-twenty years old, and, like most of his countrymen, tall, with handsome features, a frank open countenance, florid complexion, and yellow flaxen hair; he also seemed to possess their usual characteristic of steady cheerfulness of temperament, combined with strength of intellect and acuteness of mind. These qualities were more or less apparent in all the inmates of Grimsted Farm except the young Marfreda. The contour of her face differed from theirs, and, unlike their placidity of countenance, the colour of her cheek and the expression of her eyes varied

MARFREDA, OR THE ICELANDERS.

continually. Sometimes there was a look of deep thought, almost of sadness, and in a moment it would give way to a smile of the brightest animation, like a sudden outbreak of sunshine over a darkened sky.

After a day spent in an excursion to the volcanic mountain of Krabla, and when the evening meal was over, and the party had resumed their customary employments, the stranger sat opposite the embroidery-frame watching the fair face that bent over it, while

'Swiftly her fairy fingers flew,
And at her mandate blossoming,
Young flowers of gorgeous lustre grew,
As if she held the wand of spring.'

There was something in the features, and still more in their ever-varying expression, that brought his own country and the character and countenance of his own people to his mind, though he knew not why. The pastor observing that the interest which his guest had taken in a dissertation he had been making upon the national poetry of Iceland began to flag, though he had tried to revive it by short quotations from the 'Oracle of the Prophetess Vola,' and, as a *dernier ressort*, by illustrating his argument with a stanza from a living poet, Thorlakson, in his beautiful address to the British Bible Society, thus imitated in English:—

'Aged, and clad in snow-white pall,
I twine the wreath, and twine for thee,
Though mingled howls in Thule's hall
The north wind with our minstrelsy.
These strains, though rugged as the clime,
Rude as the rocks O scorn not thou!
These strains in Thule's elder time
Kings have received—receive them now!—

he at last gave up the matter, and said: 'Though you have, Mr O'Hare, a taste for poetical compositions, we must not weary you with them, but will try if our wild music may entertain you. Will the fair daughter of Vidalin give us some?' Marfreda went at once to her apartment, and returned bringing a stringed instrument shaped like a harp, but so small as to rest upon her knee when she played on it. 'What is this?' thought the stranger: 'is it not the Irish clarsach?' And he almost started when the young musician, after striking a few chords, played and sung with a voice of thrilling sweetness an air every note of which brought reminiscences of home more forcibly to his mind even than her countenance had done. Indeed it seemed to resemble that same countenance now breathing forth a strain of deep, sad pathos, now full of spirit and animation. The music had ceased some minutes before the listener spoke. He then said: 'Surely that beautiful air is familiar to me, and the words would apply to some wanderer from my own shores'

'The air is not one of our national melodies,' replied Semund: 'it came, and so did the instrument on which Marfreda plays it, long ago from a distant country'—

'From the green isle of Erin doubtless,' responded his new friend. 'Of course you have heard of it?'

'What Icelander has not heard of it?' replied the Sira Hialte: 'and our

books must be as old as our clime if they did not burn with us at the same; for we have reason to believe that the Gospel may have been brought here first from that land. Irish Christians often visited these shores, even before the arrival of the Norwegians; they left behind them Irish books, bells, and other relics, and in later times they kept up a friendly intercourse with us. Close to this farm is a spot called *the Buder*, or the Irish Booths; and other places on our coasts are still known by that name, which proves that a trade was once carried on between the two islands'—

'But the fair Marfreda's harp and her song?' interrupted O'More, who seemed again to have lost his relish for antiquarian researches.

'They are both relics of this same intercourse,' the pastor replied, 'and were brought here by an Irish chief, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to deliver his country from the Saxon yoke, fled, and coming over in one of the trading vessels, took refuge in our land'—

'A rebel, I suppose?' said O'More.

'A patriot, sir!' replied Marfreda Vidalin; 'and I claim descent from him through my mother,' she added blushing deeply, but drawing up her slender form with an air of dignity which well became her Milesian blood. 'My grandmother told me of him when I was but a little girl, and gave me this harp, and taught me the song, which was translated into our language from one composed by my ancestor.'*

'Indeed!' replied the stranger smiling. 'Then, young lady, I may call you countrywoman, and even relation, if you will allow me; for I too can boast of an ancient Irish pedigree, though it has done me little good.'

This led to many inquiries about his country, and O'More was amused by the characteristic questions put to him by various members of the family.

'Happy land!' exclaimed Semund: 'have you not there every facility for attaining knowledge—books, teachers, colleges? Your young men are, I suppose, all learned philosophers, initiated in the mysteries of science before they are thirty?'

O'More smiled. 'You forget,' he said, 'that even in a land so famed for learning as ours is said to have been, all are not born with a taste for such pursuits, nor are the facilities quite so general as you imagine for becoming philosophers and scholars. What would you say to those who prefer a fox-chase to the most learned investigation?' The young Highlander seemed doubtful that such could exist. His father charitably suggested that perhaps the favoured inhabitants of the British isles, enjoying access to the best of all books, from which too many in his own country were yet excluded, were so absorbed in the glorious discoveries of revelation as to be careless about those of philosophy. But their visitor shook his head, and replied: 'I wish I could offer so good an excuse for their too general preference of amusement to study'—

'But your ladies do not hunt foxes,' interrupted Marfreda Vidalin; 'neither are they obliged to spin and knit the family garments as we are; and they have plenty of books: they need not seek recreation in developing the mysteries of cross-stitch.'

*It is worthy of notice that the dean's lady derives her descent from one of the kings of Ireland.—*Henderson's Iceland*, p. 380.

True, learned O'Hare, and others are not obliged to make our garments, or to make letters if they were: but I fear they will be fowled in your estimation. Now I tell you that, with all their resources, they often have recourse to the needle and woollen-threads for amusement; and I must even acknowledge that most of them would have far more pleasure in developing the mysteries of cross-stitch than in solving the mathematical problem which I saw Semund teaching you to-day. Oh, worse than that! Too many might even prefer Berlin wool to the poetry of your admired Milton and Cowper.

That the inhabitants of a country possessing advantages so ardently coveted but so sparingly enjoyed by themselves could fall short of perfection in either mental or moral cultivation, these simple children of the north could scarcely understand, particularly the young Semund, who was even a little incredulous of his new friend's report. On the stranger's observing that he believed true happiness to be more equally diffused among mankind than was usually supposed, an argument ensued between them on the subject, which they were illustrating by a comparison between their respective countries, when they were interrupted by one of the workmen, who entered saying: 'I bring pleasant tidings. Winter is over, and summer commencing, for the long silent music of the swans has again awakened the echoes of Lake Myvatn.'

The whole family arose, evidently pleased with this intelligence, but every face still preserving its usual placidity of expression except that of Marfreda, who, from listening with a look of intense and even sorrowful interest to a conversation indicating that Semund believed there was a country on earth superior to his own, suddenly sprung from her work-frame, her fine features irradiated with joy, and cried: 'Let us go—let us hear the welcome melody of these sweet harbingers of a season which our snow-storms and frozen rivers have taught us to enjoy with a relish unknown in southern climes.'

Accordingly they left the house and proceeded over the frozen snow to an eminence from whence there was a view of the lake, with columns of vapour rising here and there from its surface. Its broad expanse, and the wild scenery of the surrounding shores could be distinguished, although the hour was near midnight, by the light of a beautiful aurora borealis which illumined the sky; even the huge and fantastic shapes of the volcanic mountains in the background could be discerned. The profound silence which generally pervaded these regions was now broken by the song of the swans, as the messenger had announced—a kind of music that is supposed to precede a thaw, and hence the Icelanders are well pleased to hear it. The notes of this magnificent bird, which is very large, are like the tones of a violin, and though so loud as to be heard at a distance, indescribably melodious, each note occurring after a distinct interval.

The traveller listened for awhile, his eye glancing alternately over the magnificent landscape below and the splendid phenomenon which made it visible. 'Oh, Semund,' he exclaimed, 'do not envy us our green hills and our untroubled waters, neither the plaintive warbling of our nightingales, nor the tranquillity of our skies, while you can gaze on a scene like this, while your ear drinks in the wild, unearthly music of these birds, and while you can have your mind raised upwards by the sublimity of these celestial

Look! these streams of yellow, green, and purple light; now shooting along the hemisphere, now dancing with a tremulous motion; now collecting as if to muster their forces in one point round the centre, and then—see!—they grow fainter and fainter till they lose themselves in the stream of light which shines over yon distant mountains. What scenes in earth or sky could awaken such feelings of devotion as these?

The pastor smiled at this enthusiasm, but he said: 'Beware, young friend, of mistaking a poetical feeling of admiration of His works, for devotion to their great Maker. No: never can we really adore Him as the God of creation till we know and love Him as the God of redemption. Your own poet says:

"Philosophy baptised
In the pure fountain of eternal love
Has eyes indeed: and viewing all she sees
As meant to indicate a God to man,
Gives Him his praise, and forfeits not her own."

'I have read,' observed Madam Erlandson, 'that the aurora borealis is also seen in great beauty in Eastern countries; and was it not to this that Elihu alluded when he said to Job: "The golden splendour cometh out of the north?"'

'Probably,' replied her husband. 'And well might he add, and well may our hearts respond to his words as we now gaze around us: "With God is terrible majesty."'

The universal thaw, and the quick transition from winter to summer peculiar to these latitudes, and which had been predicted by the singing of the swans, in a few days changed the aspect of Grimsted Farm and its neighbourhood as if they had been touched by the wand of an enchanter; for nothing is there experienced of the

'Lovely spring and lingering cold
'Content divided sway to hold,
That sort of interregnum which throws
On all around a sweet repose.'

Spots of bright verdure suddenly appeared among the lava rocks, and the shrubs and stunted trees which had hedged in the pastor's garden were quickly covered with foliage. The stranger visited the various natural wonders in the vicinity of the farm, which abounded with objects calculated to excite interest in his mind; all was so different from anything he had ever before witnessed, and consequently possessing the charm of novelty to heighten its attraction. Among other excursions for his entertainment, an expedition to visit some boiling springs at the distance of a few miles was arranged. The morning upon which this plan was to be carried into effect was peculiarly mild and bright, so that the venerable pastor and his fair ward, Marfreda Vidalin, joined the party. The object of their purposed visit was so situated that they could go the greater part of the way in a boat, by embarking upon one of the numerous fiords which form so characteristic a feature of Icelandic scenery—arms of the ocean finding their way through the rocky barrier of the coast, and running far into the interior of the country, sometimes twenty miles or more.

The Sira Hialte with his family and guest walked to the fiord, which

was not far from their dwelling, and where the boat awaited them, in which they put off; but they had not pushed more than a few yards from where the spray broke upon the rocky coast and entered into tranquil water, when, to the stranger's surprise, the whole party took off their hats, while the pastor offered up a short prayer for the protection of God throughout the day; then, proceeding on their course, they united in a hymn of praise to the same Great Being, the voices keeping time with the movement of the oars. The effect of this in such a scene was peculiarly impressive. The fiord was enclosed on each side by lofty rocks, which rose precipitously to the height of 200 or 300 feet. These gigantic bulwarks had their summits crowned with snow, now reflecting the morning beams from their dazzling heights. The water, thus sheltered from every breeze, was unruffled as a summer lake, there being nothing in its calm aspect to denote connection with the wind-swept ocean outside, except the ebbing and flowing of its tide; nor was any living thing to be seen but occasionally a blue or white fox gazing at them in mid-air from some jutting crag, or a flock of stately swans sailing across the sparkling waters, which reflected their snowy plumage, and heads crowned with a tuft of bright orange-coloured feathers.

When the last notes of the hymn died away, O'More said to Marfeda Vidalin, who was seated beside him: 'Such a scene would awaken devotion in the coldest bosom. I no longer wonder at this pleasing manifestation of feeling under the circumstances.'

'And why did you ever wonder at it?' she replied. 'Can man, endued with reason, contemplate the works of the Creator and not render the homage of praise? Are not even his inanimate works said to do this? Earth, air, skies, praise Him!'

'True,' said O'More; 'but to this "inarticulate music of the loyal universe," as I have heard it called, such praise has been too much confined in every country I have ever visited until I came to your own. How does it happen, Sira Hialte,' he continued, addressing the clergyman, 'that your people seem to be so much influenced not only by devotional feelings but religious principles? You have here none of the external trappings of worship calculated to excite the imagination of the unlearned.'

The Sira replied: 'That may partly be the cause so far as means are concerned, for they learn doctrine and precept simply from the Scriptures themselves—books so much prized throughout the length and breadth of our land, that when an agent of your benevolent Society came here to distribute them printed in our Icelandic tongue, many gave all the money they possessed to secure a copy, and others would weep bitterly when he was unable to supply them.'

The boat had proceeded some miles up the fiord when they landed, and pursued their course through a scene equally striking. It was a vast wilderness of stones and sand, utterly destitute of vegetation, without the faintest impression of a track across it, and enormous masses of compact stone were scattered all around.

'How are we to find our way through this desert?' inquired O'More.

'I marvel not you should inquire,' replied Sira Hialte, 'for truly the line of confusion seems to have been stretched out over it; but here is our clue through the labyrinth, and one which can boast of high antiquity'—

pointing to heaps of stones in a pyramidal form, arranged at certain distances from each other.

'These we call *cardar*,' continued the pastor; 'and they are an important accommodation to travellers through such a wilderness, and undoubtedly similar to what the Jewish prophet alludes to when he says: "Set thee up waymarks, make thee high heaps."'

'Another relic of Orientalism,' said O'More; 'and truly this place must strongly resemble an Arabian desert; and now, yonder old man who has so suddenly emerged from behind that rock, and stands looking at us, while his hoary locks and snowy beard stream like a meteor in the desert air, adds greatly to the interest of the landscape.'

'It is Hudur the Thulr,' cried Marfreda. 'It is long since we saw him, and I rejoice that he is come: his old sagas and poems will entertain our guest, and accord with his taste for antiquarian research.'

The old man now approached. Though far advanced in years, his appearance was vigorous, and his countenance highly intelligent. He expressed much joy at this meeting, and the usual salutations were exchanged, which again reminded O'More of the Arabs, being palpably of Eastern origin. They consisted of a kiss, and the words '*Sael vertu*,' signifying, 'Happiness be with thee;' and exactly corresponding, as he thought, with the Arabic *salam*. The new-comer seemed particularly glad to see Marfreda. He took her small hand between his own large bony ones, and looking intently on her face, exclaimed: 'Daughter of Vidalin, the blood of a race long famed in our beloved country for wisdom and learning flows in thy veins, as that fair, sweet countenance betrays. But the stately bearing of that form, and the glance of those eyes, speak of connection with other lands and other races, inheritors of a different kind of renown. Young scion of a royal tree that once flourished on Erin's distant plains, how many a valiant deed could I recite of thy forefathers!'

'Indeed!' exclaimed O'More. 'And how, friend, may I inquire, have you become acquainted with my country's legends, for I am come from these same distant plains?'

'Are you really a Hibernian?' he replied, fixing his piercing eyes upon the stranger. He then continued: 'Why should you deem me ignorant of your country's history? I have had some opportunities of becoming acquainted with her annals, not only ancient but modern.'

As they proceeded on their way, O'More was entertained and surprised by the conversation of this new addition to their party. He seemed not only well versed in the history, antiquities, and natural productions of his own land, but by the acute questions which he put to the stranger, evinced much knowledge of other countries, and had even some acquaintance with their literature; but Semund assured his guest that similar attainments were by no means uncommon even among the poorest of the peasantry. 'However,' he added, 'old Hudur is not to be classed with such: he is a specimen of our Thulrs, or itinerating historians, who gain a living during our long winters by staying at different houses, furnishing entertainment for the evening by repeating our national sagas, or sometimes reciting poetry till they have quite exhausted their stock of literary knowledge. It is a

custom which has existed among the Scandinavians from time immemorial. This man has had peculiar advantages, having lived much among Marfreda Vidalin's family, particularly with her grandmother, who was a Norwegian lady, and, I have heard, a very well-informed woman. But see, we have arrived at the object of our search.' And so they had. They could now see the columns of curling vapour ascending, and hear the roaring of the boiling fountains, and ultimately came within sight of them.

When our Irish traveller stood upon the brink of the precipice surrounding the lake or large pool from whence the vast body of boiling water was ejected, and gazed upon these enormous jetting fountains, ten or twelve in number, rising some of them to the height of fifty or sixty feet—vast clouds of steam rolling and spreading as they ascended till they seemed to fill the horizon around—his feelings were as far beyond our powers of description as the scene which awakened them, and he was afterwards heard to declare, that the awful impression it left upon his mind no length of time could ever erase. The persons who accompanied him, though accustomed to the wonderful phenomena of Icelandic scenery, also appeared to partake of the solemnity of his feelings. The pastor gazed upon the steamy columns as they arose till his looks, following them in their ascent, were lifted up to Heaven, evidently in profound adoration. The maiden stood with her hands clasped, and her eyes half averted, as if her gentle nature recoiled from contemplating what was so fearful; yet her beautiful features wore an expression which fully manifested her appreciation of the sublimity of the scene. The tall, erect form of old Hludur, standing on the very brink of the abyss, and gazing with stern, unmoved admiration, formed an equally picturesque addition to the group. The thulr was the first who broke silence. 'Many a time,' he exclaimed, 'has a husband cast the bride of his youth, or a father the child of his own body, from this very spot on which we stand into that bubbling, boiling lake below, in order to appease the offended deities who were supposed to preside over it. I will repeat the composition of one of our ancient poets which records such an instance of heathen superstition.'

He accordingly commenced the recitation, to which the stranger listened attentively, being deeply interested in what afforded a specimen of national poetry bearing unequivocal marks of independent origin. With the assistance of Marfreda as an interpreter occasionally, he was able perfectly to understand it; and though in regard to the rhymes and variation of the verses it was a little extravagant, yet the grandeur of its imagery and tenderness of its sentiment excited his admiration. The legend was a popular one, the subject being a queen of former days named Andur the Rick, a lady of piratical memory, who, after various adventures and depredations upon her neighbours, which even extended to the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, fixed her final residence upon the very spot where they then stood, erecting a temple to Thor, the remains of which the narrator pointed to at a little distance. On some occasion of danger, when a peculiarly precious oblation to this bloody deity was deemed necessary, the queen's daughter, being of course, like all persecuted heroines, exquisitely beautiful, was, by the desire of her mother, cast into the boiling gulf as a sacrifice. The thulr had commenced his recital with a calm, unpassioned manner; but as he proceeded his action, the tones of his

deep voice, and the expression of his countenance, became so energetic, so fully harmonising with the wild sublimity of his poetry, and the effect of all was so heightened by the scene around, that this exhibition of northern eloquence was, O'More thought, the most imposing he had ever witnessed. To the bard himself it became at length so powerfully exciting, that when arrived at that part of the history describing the precipitation of the royal damsel down the steep, which her lover just arrived in time to witness, not to prevent, his enthusiasm was wrought up to such a degree as to make him forget the precariousness of his own situation, and involuntarily imitating the supposed movements of the persons who acted the parts of executioners in this frightful drama, he leaned too far over the steep, lost his footing, and fell. A projection of the cliff arrested his progress for a moment, when he had descended a few yards, and it would have been but for a moment, only that with wonderful presence of mind and activity of limb the stranger took advantage of it, and springing after him, seized his garments, and held him fast at the risk of his own life till Semund and the attendants rescued both from their perilous position. The old man expressed much gratitude to his preserver; and the incident seemed greatly to increase the regard in which the stranger was held by his new friends. But the occurrence having damped their present ardour for sight-seeing, the whole party, including Hludur, returned to Grimsted, where the itinerant historian was invited to remain for some time, to contribute to the entertainment of their foreign guest, and his conversation on their way home seemed likely to justify this expectation. This wandering Iclander evinced some acquaintance with whatever subject was introduced, however remote it might appear to be from his opportunities of attainment. Upon one occasion this was singularly manifested. Hearing one of the company address the traveller by his patronymic appellation, he exclaimed, turning suddenly towards him: 'O'More! is that your name, sir?' The Irishman bowed assent, and he continued: 'Will you excuse one question more? Are you O'More of Glenard Castle?'

'The same,' replied the stranger with unfeigned astonishment.

'The grandson of Donough O'More?' once more interrogated the thulr.

'I am indeed,' he answered. 'But though these names may be well known among my native hills and giens, I cannot imagine how they have been heard of on the remote shores of Iceland. Do inform me how and what you have learned of Glenard Castle—the residence of my forefathers, and of him whom you have just mentioned, Donough O'More.'

'No matter,' replied Hludur; 'the wandering thulr of the north has many ways of obtaining information, and I before intimated to you that I was not wholly unacquainted with the history, both ancient and modern, of your Milesian septs.' He then became silent and thoughtful, nor could any future effort of O'More's succeed in elucidating what seemed so extraordinary.

The traveller continued daily visiting remarkable places, and increasing his acquaintance with the character and habits of the Icelanders. He was always accompanied by Semund Erlandson, whose anxiety to gain information concerning the stranger's own country seemed to increase with every accession of knowledge on the subject. When O'More, full of enthusiastic

admiration of some tumbling cataract or smoking mountain, would assure the Icelander that these scenes of wild grandeur were wholly unequalled by anything he had left behind, Semund would reply: 'Ah, my friend, it is not your fertile valleys and green hills I envy: it is the moral excellence, the mental cultivation of those who inhabit them: I long to witness—to attain, if I could.' From day to day this idea seemed to gain strength in the young man's mind; and though O'More endeavoured to remove an impression which he feared might lead to the subversion of his friend's happiness, by assuring him that the general superiority of the British, either morally or mentally, was not quite so great as he imagined—an assertion which he sometimes illustrated by sketches of his own fellow-subjects more true than complimentary—still Semund's thoughts dwelt upon the delights of a land where schools and colleges, publishers and booksellers' shops abounded, until a disrelish for his usual avocations and domestic joys was the result. His family observed it with regret, and to Marfreda especially it was obviously a source of much uneasiness.

This young girl, who possessed that clear intellectual discernment which characterises the people from whom she boasted to derive her descent—the sons of Erin—saw at once into the state of Semund's mind, and longed that they should converse about it with their wonted freedom.

The venerable Hjalte had now resumed his summer employment of working in his garden, where, notwithstanding the ungenial influence of the climate, he always contrived to rear most of the vegetables used for culinary purposes in more southern lands, and to supply his flock—a few sheep scattered about the surrounding wilderness—with seeds. The culture of such flowers as would grow in that country was of course Marfreda's department, and in this pleasant labour Semund sometimes assisted. On one of these occasions observing that his mind was abstracted from his employment, and that even the sound of her voice failed to draw forth more than a brief reply, she said: 'Dear Semund, can it be that you are grown weary of our once happy home? Can it be that what this stranger tells of other lands has caused you to feel discontented with all that once constituted the joy of life?'

'No, no, beloved Marfreda; but'—

'But what?' she cried. 'Conceal no thought from me, Semund.'

He did not, and the fears which had arisen in her mind were realised. The love of knowledge, the taste for literature so general among his countrymen, had awakened in this young Icelander so ardent a desire to visit lands where such enjoyments were easier of attainment than in his own, that he acknowledged he could not feel happy without gratifying it, notwithstanding which he assured her his affection for home and all its endearments was unabated. His auditor listened in silence, and then replied: 'Semund, our visitor has sketched a brilliant picture of distant scenes wherewith to dazzle the eyes of your understanding, but believe me he has only given the lights and carefully concealed the shadows.'

'You wrong him, Marfreda: he never tried to lure me from home, as you seem to think, by an account of more favoured lands; he has rather sought to deter me from an experiment which he says will end in disappointment. But I think otherwise, and have formed my opinion upon facts—statements elicited from him before he was aware of my

object. 'O if I could but judge for myself!' She looked as if scarcely comprehending him.

'Semund,' she said, 'tell me at once if I understand you? You not only long to visit England, but really intend doing so—returning with Mr O'More; is it not so?'

'It is, dearest Marfreda. But why do you grow pale? This desire is perfectly compatible with my devoted affection to you. We have grown up together, and loved each other ever since we were capable of loving. You know it has been settled,' he continued, speaking with some hesitation, 'that we are to be united at midsummer: now, Marfreda, my taking this journey would be but a delay to our happiness which it may ultimately be the means of augmenting. I shall gain knowledge—perhaps fame, Marfreda!' and his young cheek glowed. 'Fame leads to wealth; and then I shall return and share all with you. Oh, never doubt, my love!'

● 'I never will doubt anything you tell me, Semund; but such love is not like that which women feel—not like mine! Fame, knowledge, wealth! Oh, the heart of woman would give them all for one day, one hour, in the society of him she loves! But, Semund'—and there seemed some difficulty in giving utterance to the words—'Semund, if you deem your engagement to me any hindrance to the fulfilment of your wishes, it need be so no longer. From this moment I absolve you even from every recollection of it. Nay, do not expostulate; nothing shall alter my resolution: you are free as the breeze that blows over yonder lake! I know what you would say. But were you to renounce all idea of this journey it would make no difference now: your love is not what I supposed it—not like mine.'

Her voice faltered, and there was an evident struggle between tenderness and pride, of which Semund, whose old affection was powerfully revived by seeing it, tried to take advantage, and alter her resolution by renouncing his intended expedition.

'No,' she said with restored firmness, 'you deceive yourself. When this little ebullition of feeling subsides, you will not really prefer me to what has taken such strong hold of your imagination. Pursue your plan; or, as your friend O'More says, *try the experiment*. Never again shall my womanly weakness interfere with your wishes. I will now do all I can to promote their accomplishment'—— A burst of tears stopped her: she rushed into the house, and in the solitude of her apartment sought to attain that strength of mind which she felt so necessary towards acting the part she resolved to sustain.

When next they met Marfreda had perfectly recovered her self-possession; and though her cheek was pale, she spoke with her usual animation. In vain Semund tried to speak of their mutual attachment and engagement; she allowed no recurrence to the subject, but urged him to follow his desire, and accept an invitation which O'More had given him, to return with him to his own country, promising to use her influence with his father and mother to obtain their consent. 'I will stay with them always, and be unto them as a daughter,' said she.

Whatever may have been Semund's secret misgivings as to the return he was making for the disinterested affection which poor Marfreda manifested

—and they were often painful—the very unlooked-for opportunity of gratifying his long-cherished wishes was too great a temptation to be resisted. Neither did his father's reasoning nor his mother's tears induce him to give up the undertaking: they at length ceased to oppose it; and, with the true Christian spirit which influenced this minister of the Gospel, the *Sira Hjalte* submitted to what seemed inevitable, quietly leaving the result in the hands of One whose word assured him He would make all things work together for good to His people. Nor were his wife and their young charge without comfort from the same source, for they also studied and believed their Bibles.

There now seemed but one difficulty in the way of Semund's accomplishing his plan—which was the want of money; for little as these primitive people were acquainted with the ways of the world, they were aware that some gold was requisite in facilitating a traveller's progress through the most civilised countries. In the simplicity of their hearts they discussed this subject before their guest, who had not been many weeks among them till, by at once accommodating himself to all their habits and pursuits with a tact peculiarly possessed by his countrymen, and by the liveliness of his conversation and the kindness of his manner, he was treated as an intimate friend by every member of the establishment at Grimsted Farm.

'I have discovered from various books,' said the pastor, 'that money is necessary in passing through the land of these mercantile people the English; but, O'More, is it so in your country, or does the Irish chieftain still keep his hall-door open, and welcome and entertain the stranger, especially one who travels in pursuit of learning?'

'Ah, dear sir,' he replied, 'we are sadly degenerated from the customs of our fathers. Our chieftains have now got locks upon their hall-doors; nor can you much blame them when I tell you that otherwise they would soon have nothing left to entertain any one with. And as to the special welcome for a scholar—must I say it?—the wisdom and learning of Solomon would not in general be deemed half so good a title to it as a fine equipage or well-filled purse. But you must blame that same mercantile people: our amalgamation with the *Sassenach* has wrought these changes. However, sweet Marfroda, you look so shocked that I must add, in remote districts, where may still be found remains of the unmixed Milesian race, there still are traces of the romantic hospitality of other days; and the door is still unbarred, and the stranger welcome to a potato as long as they have one to give.'

'Then, my son,' observed the old man with a knowing air, which made his visitor smile, 'you will require money in Ireland also?'

'Alas! too true, sir,' replied O'More: 'no country on earth where it is more needed, of which I have melancholy experience. Oh, Semund, he continued more gravely, 'how I wish I had plenty of it to offer you, but it is not likely I ever shall. But, my kind friends, in order to shew you that I want the power, not the will, to prove my love for Semund by helping him in this matter, you must allow me to recur to a few circumstances in my own history, to which you will, I know, kindly listen. I was brought up as heir to an estate which had belonged to my family time immemorial—the only remnant of the wide lands over which the O'Mores once held

away, and by far the best thing I inherited from them. On the death of the relative who was in possession it became mine, and I set about enjoying it to the best of my ability. This was the golden time of my existence; but a change came. A claim to my inheritance was put in by another branch of the family, which he tried to establish by law. I will not enter into the particulars of this litigation; it is sufficient to say it soon appeared that this claim, though unjust, was but too likely to succeed. An ancient document which, if forthcoming, would for ever invalidate the pretensions of my adversary, could not be found. I ascertained that it had been in the possession of a granduncle, who, long before I was born, had gone to Norway and settled there; and I undertook a journey to that country in the feeble hope of recovering it from his representative, but was disappointed. My Norwegian cousin received me kindly; and as the progeny of the old gentleman who had emigrated with my precious papers in his possession had been numerous, and had settled in various parts of the country, I remained with him till we traced out as many of them as we could; but it was all in vain. On my way home, as you already know, I visited your hospitable island, where I have met with kindness I never can forget, and witnessed rational enjoyment, disinterested affection, such as I hope not for in other lands. Shortly after my arrival in Ireland it is probable I must resign my patrimony, and with it of course my place in society, and every hope connected with the land of my birth. I therefore intend either to enter the army, or pursue some other course which will save me the mortification of letting my altered fortunes be witnessed by old associates and *friends*, as they are called. But until I am actually turned out of this same inheritance I shall have sufficient interest among the great and gay—ay, Semund, and the philosophers and literati—to introduce you into their circles, and give you an opportunity of judging how far they resemble your ideas of them.'

'And will you not always have influence with such?' inquired Hialte. 'I cannot understand how the loss of fortune could weaken it. Will you not still be a gentleman and a scholar, and worthy of the respect and friendship of all?'

'I tell you, sir,' cried O'More bitterly — 'I tell you, sir, that when a man is poor he is worthy of nothing; that is the way of the world, and I have seen something of it already; but,' he added in a gayer tone, 'remember I am speaking of the way of the world, not referring to poor Ireland alone. I am sure some portions of her old kindness and unselfish affection still exist, though it may not be my lot to experience them. However, let us speak of Semund's journey. Poor as I am, trust him with me, and all I can I will do to serve him.'

'Thanks, dear O'More,' replied the young man; 'but do you know that a prospect of becoming quite rich enough for our undertaking has this day been opened to me?' He was requested to explain, and proceeded: 'The polar bear, the very gentleman who first brought me acquainted with O'More, will, I trust, furnish me with the means of visiting his country. You know this Greenland wanderer has not been heard of in our vicinity since the evening we met him: he went to more inaccessible regions; but last night he reappeared on the shores of the lake, and if you will all assist me, addressing the servants, 'I will lead you against him this night. I

have not asked help from any of our neighbours lest I should be disappointed in the hope of his falling by my own hand, but I will manage so as that the danger shall be mine alone; only prepare your firearms and accompany me.'

O'More inquired how this exploit was to facilitate the journey, and was told that the person who killed a bear was not only well paid for the skin, but was to receive a considerable reward from the king of Denmark.

The guest of course requested permission to join the assailants, and the plan of warfare was duly arranged. We shall not recount the fears and expostulations of Semund's mother when she saw him preparing to lead his followers against this formidable invader, neither shall we try to describe poor Marfeda's silent but eloquent look of suppressed anxiety; for no longer considering herself as the betrothed bride of the young Icelfander, a feeling of womanly pride taught her to conceal as well as she could her deep interest in his safety. The Sira Hialte made light of his wife's apprehensions, giving a spirited account of an exploit of his own on a similar occasion, which, however, he interlarded with many hints on the necessity of caution for the benefit of his young auditors. A fervent prayer for their safety was then offered up, and the party set out on their perilous expedition. It is not our purpose to furnish our readers with an account of the bear-hunt, as probably they would take little interest in any part of it except the *dénouement*, which was, that the assailants returned triumphant, Semund bearing the desired trophy of his victory—the skin of the enemy, which had fallen by his hand. The reward of this achievement was to be received at Reikiavik, from whence they were to sail for England; and preparations actually commenced for Semund's journey, an event which now seemed to engross every thought of his mind and feeling of his heart, while O'More became dejected, and seemed to grow more so as the day of departure approached.

At length the last evening came, the travellers were to set out on the following morning, and a general depression of spirits pervaded the family circle. O'More wished to visit once more his favourite seat upon the rock, which commanded an extensive view of the lake and mountains, and was accompanied by his two young friends, Marfeda taking her harp at his request. She had never made the slightest reference to Semund's unkindness in leaving her, nor to their long attachment and engagement, since she had voluntarily released him from it, nor would she allow him to allude to it. On the present occasion she was perfectly tranquil, while Semund seemed agitated by conflicting feelings. After they had sat for some time in silence, Marfeda struck a few chords upon her harp, and said: 'Mr O'More, I will sing you a little song which you never heard before; the words were composed by Semund long ago; probably he has forgotten them, but I have not.' She then sung, with a voice of melting sweetness and to a simple Icelandic melody, the following verses:—

THE ICELANDER'S SONG.

They tell of sunny islands
Beyond the distant main,
With skies serene, and valleys green,
And fields of golden grain.

CHAMBERS'S PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

They say the silvery fountains
Of that delightful land,
That gush around, are never bound
In winter's frozen band.

With verdure clad, the mountains
Repose in rest profound;
From their high peaks no red fire breaks
To fling destruction round;
No geyser sends a steamy column
Forth from their placid lakes;
No rumbling, rocking earthquake there
The hill and valley shakes.

But let me in my fatherland,
Mine own dear home, be found,
To hunt the fox o'er lava rocks,
And watch the reindeer bound;
For tamer scenes I ne'er will change
Their wild sublimity,
The torrent's roar, and the hills that pour
Forth red artillery.

Oh, happy is our Iceland home,
And such a cordial smile
As greets me there is found nowhere
But in my native isle.
Then tell me not of fairer climes,
For I will never rove;
The joys of earth are little worth
Unshared by those we love.

Semund covered his face while he listened to this song, and when it was ended he walked away, evidently quite overpowered. O'More also seemed much affected. He exclaimed at last: 'And still Semund can leave you—can leave the endearments of home, the love of a creature like Marfreda, to seek—he scarcely knows what! O had I such a home—affection fully disinterested and independent of outward circumstances—to look to, how little I would care for those things I once deemed necessary to happiness!'

'And so you will yet, dear friend,' said Marfreda in a voice of kindness.

'Not unless I find them here, Marfreda; not unless you give them to me.'

With a look of the greatest surprise she inquired what he meant.

'I will tell you,' he answered, 'though ten minutes ago I thought I would never do so; but we of Erin's Isle are always saying what we do not intend to say. Only listen with patience, sweet Marfreda, and do not be displeased with me, even if you disapprove of what I tell you. My heart sickens at the thought of returning to my country with a blight over every prospect of future happiness. No longer fitted for the station in which I was brought up—to be slighted and despised by former associates and friends, as they are called—no; I never could endure it.'

'And are such the invariable consequences of a loss of fortune?' inquired Marfreda.

'Perhaps not; I cannot say: but this I know, that even the probability of such a loss in my case was sufficient to prove the hollowness, the base

selfishness, of what are called love and friendship in civilised society, as they term it. In this remote region alone I have seen that such a thing as disinterested affection can really exist; I have witnessed contentment, happiness, sincere, influential piety, which, careless as I may seem, I know how to appreciate; and I wish to secure a share of them for myself. As soon as my last link to home is broken, which will be the case when I return from my unsuccessful journey, I think of coming back here, adopting your habits and customs, and, if I can, your virtues—if, Marfreda, you will only bestow upon me that love which Semund certainly cannot value as I do, or he would not leave you! Oh, forgive me! The flush of that cheek and the fire of that eye tell me I have offended.'

'I believe you did not mean to do so,' she replied with resumed composure; 'but never again allude to such a subject, or I cannot but be offended. Suffice it for me to say, that I never will be the bride of any one but of Semund Erlandson; nor his unless he proves worthy of my regard: so there the subject ends for ever. But I will always be your friend, Mr. O'More, and as such let me say that I think you come to very hasty conclusions, and judge both your own people and ours on slight grounds. Ah,' she continued smiling, 'you forget your own arguments with poor Semund on an equal distribution of real happiness; and, believe me, if you turn Icelfander, you will discover that evil as well as good may be found here. Before the first winter is over you will wish yourself an Irish gentleman again.'

'But that is what I can be no longer, Marfreda: the days are gone by when we might found a claim to gentility upon a long pedigree, or even education and conduct. Gold now is the requisite, without which birth, mind, morals, are little worth, and without which even love and friendship are denied us. You look incredulous, but I can advance my own experience to illustrate the truth of my assertion. I was not long in possession of my patrimonial inheritance when a young lady, lovely and beloved, consented to share it with me. Her father was my friend. The time for our union approached when my relative's pretensions to my property were first heard of. Her father, my friend as I deemed him, became less anxious about what he had heretofore done his utmost to promote. He waxed colder and colder as my adversary's title seemed more likely to be the stronger. I grew angry, and concealed not my contempt for this mean creature, and a breach ensued. True, I cannot upbraid Ellen with anything more than pusillanimously yielding to his wishes, but she did that: she gave me up because I was likely to be poor. Now, Marfreda, can you wonder that I long to cast in my lot with those whose affections are, I am certain, irrespective of the changes of fortune?'

The young counsellor again warned him against too hasty a decision, and gave him some sage advice; but it was evident that though she felt for his distress, her thoughts were occupied by other subjects; and after saying, with a gravity of manner which, notwithstanding O'More's dejection, amused him: 'Beware, my friend, how you allow pique against this fair Ellen to lead you into such declarations as you just now made to me. Other ladies may take advantage of your doing so, which you would afterwards regret'—they returned to the house.

Morning came, and then the parting hour; but we are not about to

describe it. Who has not felt the misery of saying farewell to some beloved individual, and the desolation of beholding the vacant chair by the hearth when one is gone whose voice and whose smile gave tenfold sweetness to all the social charities of home? We will not delineate the monotonous days and weeks as they passed over the inmates of Grinsted Farm after O'More and Semund had departed; neither is it our intention to accompany the travellers across the ocean to the British Isles, nor to attempt an account of the wonder and delight attending the young Icelfander's introduction into scenes so different from everything with which he had been familiar. Our readers are already in some measure acquainted with the utopian visions which his imagination had formed of these southern lands, and at first he, like the Queen of Sheba, was often led to exclaim: 'The half was not told me;' and deemed that the brightest of his golden dreams came short of the reality, not only in favoured England, but also in O'More's native land; for Erin, unhappy Erin, had not yet been devastated by famine and pestilence, and whatever may have been her internal disorders, they were not yet perceptible to the eye of a stranger. Traits of her ancient national character were yet visible, and warm hearts and bright intellects everywhere greeted him. Alas! he did not at first discover to how little account they were turned for the benefit of their possessors, who resembled the scenery of their native land: the exterior beautiful and attractive, with mines of wealth, incalculable treasure within, unprized, almost unknown, because there was no encouragement to develop them!

As the communications between Iceland and the more southern regions are 'few and far between,' many months elapsed before any news from the travellers reached Grinsted. At length the long wished-for packet arrived, containing letters from both. O'More wrote with gratitude and affection. He touched briefly on his own concerns: the lawsuit had terminated according to his anticipations, and he was now resolved on seeking his fortune in other lands, but had not decided where. Semund's letters were more diffuse. The glowing charms with which novelty had invested every scene around him had not yet quite subsided, and his account of all he enjoyed was of course enthusiastic. Still he acknowledged that much which came under his observation was to him inexplicable. After a vivid description of what the book-loving Icelfander deemed one of the most interesting sights he had witnessed—the college libraries and booksellers' shops in Dublin, and of the facility with which the process of printing is carried on—he added: 'But can you believe it? Notwithstanding all this, there are thousands of the lower orders in this country who can neither read nor write, and who are consequently ignorant even of the Book of God. This proceeds not of course from want of books and schools, nor from want of abilities, for they are an intelligent and imaginative people; but whatever is the cause of this ignorance, dreadful immorality arises from it; and I often compare them with our own virtuous, studious peasantry, and wonder how it is that the Irish, possessing at least equal capability and superior facilities for acquiring knowledge, should be so deficient.' His accounts of the higher classes were more in accordance with the expectations he had formed, and he praised them much, though acknowledging he had there also observed some incongruities which were

puzzling. To Marfreda he wrote with much affection, but not so as to remove her painful impression that his love was not equal to her own. He spoke indefinitely of his future prospects, as if too much occupied by present enjoyment to give them much consideration.

Another interval of months elapsed, and again the messenger to Reikiavik returned bearing dispatches from Ireland. A change had evidently taken place in Semund's mind: he seemed to have unravelled some of the mysteries which formerly perplexed him. The ignorance and immorality which, he said, in spite of much to be admired in them, degraded the lower ranks of the country where he sojourned, he had now discovered could be imputed to the paralysing influence of extreme poverty and the want of education; but as many persons possessing ampler means of discovering the 'master-key to the idiosyncrasy of the Irish character' than our Icelandic traveller enjoyed, have still failed in doing so, we shall not record his observations on that subject. His animadversions on other orders of society, now that he no longer viewed them through the variegating prism of novelty, though few, we shall spare our readers; but all was summed up in the declaration, that he supposed 'on the whole no country on earth was equal to his own.' 'My dear father was right,' said the young man, 'when he assured me that even if I could realise the glowing hopes which led me to this land, and attain the climax of fame and fortune—of which there seems little probability—yet like one of old, who had full capacity to *try everything under the sun*, I should be obliged to own that all was vanity and vexation of spirit.' This was addressed to Marfreda Vidalin, and with it an acknowledgment that the joys of domestic life were far the best this world afforded, and Iceland the part of it where only he could find them, feelingly imploring her forgiveness, for ever having seemed to doubt either. He announced his intention of returning home by the first opportunity.

The delight which this communication afforded to the family at Grimsted may be imagined—everything was said, everything done with reference to Semund's return, and various were the conjectures and calculations as to when that desired event might be expected to take place.

It was about midsummer when two travellers were riding across a plain not many miles distant from Grimsted. It was a sandy desert, strewed occasionally with rocks and stones, which exhibited proofs of having been exposed to the action both of fire and water. Even in this frigid climate heat and thirst are at such a season experienced; and as the day had been one of uncommon warmth, our travellers hailed, late in the evening, with much pleasure the sight of a small river with some vegetation on its bank, where they stopped to refresh both themselves and their horses.

'O'More,' said Semund Erlandson—for such they were—'you see that mountain—our way lies over it; and when we reach the summit in a few hours more, you may behold a novel sight—the sun at midnight; while from the same point I shall be able to contemplate what most my heart yearns for—home! We shall have a distant view of Grimsted, and may reach it early in the morning.' When sufficiently rested they pursued their way. The weather was beautiful; and as they proceeded up the side of the mountain, they found it clothed with dwarf willows and blue-berry

banquet, the fruit of which yielded delicious refreshment. They were in high spirits, and conversed as they rode along.

'How surprised and glad every one will be to see you, O'More,' said Semund.

'I doubt not their kindness,' replied his friend; 'and as my cousin in Norway writes me word that my presence in that country to take possession of the situation he has procured for me will not be required for some time, I may perhaps, before settling there, if such be my destiny, have the pleasure of witnessing your union with the fair Marfreda Vidalin.'

'Ah, dear O'More, do you really believe that she can forgive my coldness, my unkindness in leaving her?'

'Fear not, Semund—the virtue of forgiveness is one in which young ladies are seldom deficient on such occasions.'

'There is somewhat more of bitterness than of compliment to the sex in your words, O'More. You were always a little severe on them, and formerly you might be pardoned, for you thought you had cause, judging by your own experience; but that has been proved a mistake, and you should speak of them as they deserve.'

'I was mistaken,' replied the Irishman in a graver tone, 'when I thought that the woman I had chosen gave me up because I was likely to become poor; and the bitterness of my feelings towards her extended towards the whole sex, always excepting your beautiful Marfreda, Semund, who seemed to be what learned people call a *rara avis in terris*—a solitary instance of a woman capable of disinterested affection. But I wronged Ellen, as is fully proved by her noble conduct when her father's death removed the obstacle to our union which his mean parsimony had created—her proposal to renew our engagement and bestow her fortune on one who had just become penniless.'

'And I never could understand your reasons for declining what was so desirable,' observed Semund.

'Have you not had sufficient opportunities of observing the ways of civilised society, as it is called,' responded his friend, 'to know that a man who derives his importance from his wife's money—one whom the world is apt to designate with the title of fortune-hunter—subjects himself to opprobrium such as I at least have not philosophy to encounter? No, Semund! Though I love Ellen more than ever since discovering how I wronged her, no one shall accuse me of seeking her hand again because she was rich and I a beggar. If in afterlife poor O'More, now, like many another O, an impoverished exile, seeking in other lands what his own denied—if, to speak less sentimentally, I should grow rich—an event seldom exemplified in our family history—oh how joyfully will I return and claim her hand if she keep her promise of still remembering me!'

It was just midnight when they attained the height from which Semund had promised his friend the novel sight of the sun at that hour, and there they halted, while the Irishman with delight and wonder gazed upon the king of day, divested indeed of his splendour, but still stretching his sceptre over the realms of night. As if resting in his career, he remained for about half an hour a little above the horizon, communicating a golden tinge to the atmosphere and to the surrounding scenery—an immense plain studded with lakes and bounded by ice-mountains, whose glassy sides reflected the

rays of the midnight sun, which again commenced his ascent to pursue in undeviating course his circle through the northern hemisphere.

O'More gazed with awe and admiration upon this sublime scene. His fellow-traveller seemed to watch the upward movement of the crimson orb with somewhat of impatience. 'How slowly it ascends,' he said; 'and till it gets higher the shadow of that gigantic Hérðubried will not pass off from the plain where it now hides the view I might else have of my dear home. But is not this magnificent? You are right, O'More, when you used to assure me I should find nothing excelling such scenes in tamer regions. No land on earth can be compared to Iceland!'

'Except Ireland!' O'More replied laughing. 'You forget that the drift of all my wise observations was to convince you that there was a tolerably equal distribution of good and evil over the face of the earth. For instance, if your Hérðubried is so much higher and grander than my own blue mountains, remember that the elements of destruction are nourished within its bosom, and we know not the moment they may break forth.'

Semund, who still continued gazing intently in the same direction, answered: 'My friend, may your words not prove ominous, but I never before saw such a volume of black smoke ascending from that crater. See, the shadow has passed, and the slanting rays of the sun rest upon the place I wanted to behold; but where—oh where is the Yokul?—the ice-mountain which time immemorial had raised its glittering brow beside Hérðubried. It has doubtless melted in the heat of a volcanic eruption; and oh, my friend, it has buried my home, my parents, my love, in one mass of ruin!'

O'More looked with intense anxiety towards the place, and tried to soothe Semund's agony by suggesting that he might be mistaken; but as the ascending sun still farther removed the mountain shadow, it was but too evident that a fearful change had passed over that once happy spot. The ice-mountain had in truth disappeared, or rather removed, from its former site, and, broken into huge glittering fragments, lay piled over the very place where Grimsted Farm had once smiled, like a little oasis in the desert. Poor Semund's agony was great, and his companion fully sympathised in his feelings.

They rode towards the scene of the disaster as fast as they could make their horses go; and as they drew near, with what intense anxiety did they look for some one who could inform them of the fate of the family at Grimsted! Often was a stunted tree or a reindeer mistaken for the form of a human being. At last they saw a flock of sheep grazing in a small green valley, which seemed to have escaped the general devastation by being situated between two very high hills, which had probably obstructed the progress of the ice-torrent, and prevented its entering the valley.

On reaching this place they found, as they expected, a shepherd, who instantly recognised Semund. 'Young master, are you come back? Welcome, welcome! But how shall I ever tell you all?'

Poor Semund, who was utterly unable to speak, stood with a blanched cheek and quivering limbs, leaning against his horse for support. O'More said: 'We have seen from the top of yonder mountain what has happened—house, trees, fields, all gone; but oh tell us at once where are the Sira and Madam Hjalte, Marfrede—all, all?'

'They all live!' replied the shepherd. Fervent exclamations of gratitude burst from the lips of both the travellers. 'They all live!' repeated the shepherd; 'but——'

'But what? Let us know the worst at once!'

'My beloved master, the Sira Hialte, will not be so long; he is dangerously ill.'

'O my father!—my dear father!' cried Semund. 'Where is he?—where are they all—mother, Marfreda? O that I should have left you to meet such trials as these without me!'

'They are at old Hildir's farmhouse, which has escaped both ice and lava, and whither they were carried three days ago from the top of the rock, on which we all remained while the dreadful work was going on.'

The horses were left with the attendants, and the travellers, accompanied by the shepherd, who was to break the news of their arrival to the afflicted family, set out on foot by the shortest route for the place where the sufferers had taken refuge. When they came near to it the shepherd proceeded to the house, and the friends remained seated among some rocks, in anxious, silent expectation of his return. At length some one approached. 'That is her footstep!' exclaimed Semund, bounding forward, and the next moment he clasped Marfreda Vidalin in his arms. The feelings of these two young persons at their meeting under such circumstances were of so conflicting a nature as for a time to be scarcely controllable; but before long Marfreda's cordial welcome greeted O'More, and they moved towards the house. When the flush of excitement had subsided, the young girl's cheek appeared very pale, and her countenance sorrowful. She confirmed the shepherd's account of poor Hialte's dangerous state; it was, she said, brought on by overexertion during the awful catastrophe. Before the eruption took place, he had predicted that it was at hand. They were on Sunday assembled as usual in the little church, and during service a slight rocking of the building and a gentle concussion under the feet were observed, which did not much alarm the congregation, as the same had happened before; but the pastor repaired to a neighbouring spring, and lying down, applied his ear to the ground: he then said—'Be on your guard; the cart is on fire.' Marfreda described that on looking to the volcano it appeared alternately to be heaved up and to fall again into its former state; then came loud reports like thunder, and a movement was observed in the ice-mountain. The pastor lost not a moment in removing his family, and as much of their possessions as time permitted, to the top of a high rock, and such of his neighbours as believed his warning and followed his advice did the same. Eruptions of water now gushed out; and these exundations over, the ice-mountain itself ran down like melted metal poured out of a crucible, precipitating huge masses of ice upon the plain, totally destroying the buildings and every vestige of cultivation. The poor old minister, she said, had acted not only with wonderful self-possession and sagacity, but during the scene of horror with activity quite extraordinary at his advanced age. But they were no sooner settled, by the kindness of a neighbour, in their present abode, than he sank exhausted upon a bed, from which they had now no hope he would ever rise.

The meeting of both parents with their only child was affecting. The

dying father was by far the most tranquil person of the whole group, and declared that his last earthly wish was gratified in once more beholding his son. The Sira Hjalte lingered but a few days after this meeting, and great was the grief of every person around him in the prospect of his departure; but every word uttered by this faithful pastor proved him in full possession of better comfort than any earthly aid could minister. While he was able to speak he seemed anxious to impress the importance of such a support in life or death on all around. Even during occasional aberrations of mind, while raving of the dreadful visitation he had lately witnessed, he always seemed to recognise it as coming from God, applying to it passages from those Scriptures in which he had so delighted, sublime specimens of prophetic poetry which he had always thought had their imagery borrowed from the phenomena of volcanic explosion: 'Behold the Lord cometh forth out of his place, and will come down, and tread upon the high places of the earth; and the mountains shall be molten under him, and the valleys shall be cleft as wax before the fire, and as the waters that are poured down a steep place. When thou didst terrible things which we looked not for, thou camest down, the mountains flowed down at thy presence.' In the last hour his reason was perfectly restored, and he bade a calm farewell to the beloved ones who surrounded his dying bed, including their Irish guest, and saying a word in season to each. He joined the hands of Marfreda and Semund together, with a prayer for their happiness—such happiness as is only known to those who, like himself, cordially embrace the truths which God has revealed.

The grief of the family and friends of this good man in losing him was deep and sincere. In the heart of the bereaved wife it was such as time could never remove; but after awhile the young people entered upon their former avocations, and began to converse with something of their usual animation. One evening when they were seated together on a hill-side that commanded a view of Lake Myvatn, which O'More particularly admired, he laid aside his sketch-book, in which he had been delineating the scene, while his companions had carried on in a low voice a conversation they seemed to find particularly interesting, and said: 'Semund, I fancy my prediction has been verified, and that Marfreda has so far forgiven your past delinquencies as to agree to become your bride?'

'Even so, my friend,' replied the young Iclander; 'and how I do wish that you would in one respect follow my example, by casting away what I must call your foolish fastidiousness, and accepting the good things of this life from the hand of her you love! My little patrimony has, you are aware, been swept away from me—not by a lawsuit, but an ice-mountain—and this, my dear Marfreda tells me, is of no importance, for she has had during our absence a letter from her uncle Vidalin, saying that as she was now of age to receive a sum of money intrusted to his care by her parents, he would soon forward it to her by our trusty friend, your old acquaintance, Hudur the thulr, whose arrival we are now expecting every day.'

'He will be much pleased to find you with us when he comes, Mr O'More,' observed Marfreda. 'He spoke of you after your departure with deep gratitude as the preserver of his life, and even said he must see you once more, although he may have to travel to Ireland for that purpose.'

'He need not go quite so far, I fancy,' replied Semund. 'See that tall figure that has just been set on shore by the boat which came across the lake. Unless I mistake it is no other person than old Hludur the thulr. Welcome to us once more thou walking chronicle of bygone days!—you always brought us pleasant tidings.'

'And do so still, I trust,' replied the thulr, saluting the party, and expressing great pleasure at seeing the Irishman with them.

They all returned to the house; and the old man, after speaking with much feeling and regret of the terrible catastrophe which had occurred since his last visit, and particularly of the excellent Hjalte's death, partook of some refreshment. When he was sufficiently rested he addressed himself to Marfreda as follows:—'Fair daughter of the ancient house of Vidalin, I must now fulfil the commission with which I have been intrusted by your worthy uncle; and so happy have I felt at being the bearer of it to you, dear child, that I heeded but little my long and lonely journey from the other extremity of our island; for great is the love I bear to you for your own sake, and for that of your family, particularly your grandmother, who shewed me unceasing kindness. Take this parcel: it contains a much larger sum than you probably expect, for your good uncle has not only increased by some commercial speculation your own fortune, but has added a present from himself as a token of love.'

Marfreda took the parcel, and without opening it handed it immediately to Semund Erlandson, with a look of inexpressible tenderness. He received it with emotion, pressed the hand which had presented it between his own, raised it to his lips, and then addressed a few words to her—only a few, and those not very articulate, but they were breathed forth in the deep-toned accents of strong sensibility. Madam Erlandson flung her arms about Marfreda's neck exclaiming: 'Dear, dear child! fully have you repaid all my care and that of him who is gone: you have made our Semund happy!'

'To Him who orders all things, and whose tender care is over His children, be the praise, my mother!' replied the maiden. These words appeared to recall the attention of the party to something which in the joy of the moment they may have forgotten. A silence ensued, but every circumstance denoted that the heart within was lifted up in thanksgiving.

O'More was powerfully affected by the whole scene. 'I, too, could enjoy happiness,' thought he; 'I, too, could receive it from the hand of her I love—from my Ellen—but for this pride of heart which leads me to dread misconception—the imputation of mean, interested motives by a world which knows so little of higher, nobler springs of action. O that I and my Ellen too had been born and bred among the frozen hills of Iceland!'

'I can now,' continued Hludur the thulr, addressing himself to the Irishman, 'solve two enigmas, which seemed often to puzzle you, sir, when you were with us before. I have known you greatly surprised at finding me acquainted with many things concerning other countries, particularly your own, the knowledge of which I could not have acquired from books published in our native language.'

'Nor in any other, I think,' replied O'More, 'for you mentioned my grandfather's name; and I have heard you hint at passages in his life which have not yet at least been made the subject of history.'

'True, sir,' he answered; 'and I shall presently account for having been enabled to do so. I have also heard you remark with wonder that our fair friend here, the young Marfreda, had preserved so many traces of Irish descent in her features and disposition, while, as you supposed, centuries had elapsed since the blood of Erin mingled with that of Vidalin. But what I am about to relate may clear away your difficulties on both points. I was brought up under the Vidalin family, and when this young lady's grandfather brought his wife from Norway, where he had met with and married her, she soon favoured me with much notice. Madam Vidalin, though not very young, was remarkably handsome, and seemed to be of a reserved, silent, and even melancholy disposition. While conscientiously, and with affectionate kindness, performing her duties to her husband and children, and I may add, to her neighbours, her greatest delight was to be alone, reading books in foreign languages which she had brought with her, or playing upon her harp—that very harp still played on by her granddaughter—and singing to it such wild, mournful airs as none of us had ever heard before. I was young at that time, and light-hearted also; still the moment the music of that harp and voice reached me, I would leave any amusement or employment either, and listen to it till the tears ran down my face. This was soon discovered by Madam Vidalin, who translated some of her songs for me, as they were all in a strange tongue; she also procured books for me, assisting and encouraging me in the pursuit of every kind of useful information. Misfortune came at last to a home where this excellent lady and her family had enjoyed years of tranquil happiness. She lost her husband; and immediately after that her son, whom she almost idolised, was taken from her by death. He had married young; his wife died of the same fever which laid him low, and they left their only child, Marfreda, to the care of Madam Vidalin. When the violence of her grief at these trials had so far subsided as that her attention could be directed to other subjects, the old lady became fonder than ever, not only of reciting her national legends and poems, but of listening to mine. She had quite laid aside her reserve, and now spoke freely to me of her early history and of her own country. That country was not Norway, from whence she had come to Iceland, but your own green island, Mr O'More.

'Yes, Marfreda, your grandmother was an Irishwoman. And though that ancient saga is quite correct which relates that in remote ages one of your ancestors had been united to the daughter of an Irish king, you are more closely connected with that land of poetry and song than you were aware. For hours I have listened to Madam Vidalin while she described the scenes of her early home; for she frequently enlarged upon them with all the freedom of garrulous old age. Her father was the exile who composed that little song which I have often seen you listen to, Mr O'More, while Marfreda sang the translation of it into our Icelandic dialect which I made with the help of Madam Vidalin. She taught both words and music to her granddaughter as soon as she was old enough to learn them. They were, therefore, the production not of an ancient Irish chieftain, as you thought, but of a comparatively modern Irish gentleman, whose interference in some unhappy political movement obliged him to quit his own country for ever, accompanied by his wife and children, and to take refuge in Norway, where he settled for the remainder of his days. His sons, it appeared from what

your grandmother, sweet Marfreda, told me, soon forgot ancestral pride and patriotism in struggling with the world. Before long they were quite naturalised in the land which had afforded them shelter from the danger and turmoils that awaited them in their own. But woman's heart is different; and though she married Vidalin—one every way worthy of her—and accompanied him to this country, and loved and respected him too, she never forgot her early home, nor one companion who had shared its enjoyments with her. This was a cousin of her own. A valiant and accomplished youth he was, as she often described him to me, but he differed from her father in his political opinions. He had served in the English army, and nothing could induce him to an act of disloyalty. Young as your grandmother was when she left her native land she had there witnessed such horrors that the very recital of them often caused me to tremble; but I am not going to repeat them. One scene, which, though agonising, was a more gentle kind of suffering, she would frequently describe. It was her last interview with her beloved cousin. He had again taken up arms, and was going to join his regiment in King George's service: he came to her father's house secretly, for his relatives were so incensed at his not joining their party that it was a dangerous risk; but he would not depart without bidding her farewell. He gave her his picture and a little casket containing some family papers of importance, which he charged her to keep carefully for him till they met again. But this was never to be. He was not long gone when some dreadful event took place which obliged her family to leave the country and settle in Norway, as I have already mentioned; and this poor lady of course accompanied them, bringing with her the picture and casket of her lover, whom she never heard of more!

'O Hudur, good Hudur!' cried the stranger, who had listened to this history, particularly the latter part of it, with the deepest attention—tell me at once if you know what was the name of the person who gave her these things, and what has become of them?

'I can answer both your questions, sir,' replied the old man with a look of extreme pleasure. 'The person who gave her these things was Donough O'More of Glenard Castle, your grandfather; and here, here is the very casket. O that its contents may prove as valuable to you as I wish and hope!'

With agitation of mind that made his strong frame tremble the young man took the casket. His first impulse was to open it, but he checked himself, and said: 'Stay, it is not mine. Have I any right to its contents?'

'I think you have,' replied the thulr; 'and I will tell you why. Madam Vidalin in telling me her sorrowful history, which was always interlarded with old traditions of her country and family, assured me that I was the only person to whom she had ever mentioned these particulars, "for who else," she would say, "could take an interest in bygone occurrences of a far-distant land? Your love for tales of the times of old, Hudur, will lead you to enjoy and remember them." She shewed me the casket, which was placed in the drawer of an old cabinet; and while she regretted never having had an opportunity of returning it to her cousin or his family, desired me, as soon as Marfreda was of age to inherit her possessions, but not sooner, to tell her this story, and charge her to preserve the relics of former years, which it was just possible might yet be of use to the

descendants of O'More. When this time last year I met you, sir, at Grimsted Farm, your name at once struck me; and when one evening you mentioned the business which had occasioned your visit to Norway, I knew you were the person most concerned about the casket. I could not, without transgressing Madam Vidalin's command, mention the circumstance until Marfreda had arrived at a particular age; but I owed you my life, and was resolved on putting you in possession of your papers if they were still to be had—which I feared was uncertain—even if I should have to follow you to Ireland. When the time came for putting Marfreda in possession of her inheritance, and her uncle committed it to my care to bring here, I told him the history of the casket, describing the old cabinet and the very drawer in which his mother had deposited it, and requested he would allow me to fulfil her desire of having it given to her grand-daughter. He found it just where I had mentioned, and after examining the contents, gave it to me, telling me to dispose of it as I pleased. Open it, sir: it is yours.'

The casket was immediately opened. The first object that presented itself to their observation was the portrait of a young gentleman in a military uniform, and which it was unanimously declared bore a striking resemblance to their guest. Next came out some letters, a brief glance at which quite authenticated Hudur's story. Then some old parchments. O'More looked at them. 'Yes,' he cried; 'yes, my friends, they are the same, the very documents which have occasioned me the loss of my patrimony, and which may again be the means of my recovering it!'

'And you are my cousin, dear O'More?' said Marfreda.

The relationship was joyfully acknowledged; and many were the congratulations which he received on this fortunate event, and many were the thanks offered to Hudur the thulr for his share in the transaction.

As may easily be imagined, O'More at once commenced preparations for returning to his native land, not even waiting to witness the union of Semund Erlandson and Marfreda Vidalin, which could not take place so soon after the lamented death of the Sira Hialte. The regret at the parting of these friends was mutual, and they agreed to correspond, and, if possible, see each other before the lapse of many years.

A number of months went by before the Erlandsons received any intelligence of their absent friend; but in the enjoyment of such domestic happiness as may not often be met with in this world, they continued to remember him, and often to speak of him with much affection. At length letters came, dated from the home of his ancestors, where he and his beloved Ellen were settled, the old papers recovered by the thulr having fully established O'More's right to the family estates. The letters breathed affection and gratitude towards all his Icelandic friends, and were accompanied by a large packing-case, which contained suitable presents for every one of them, not only from O'More but from his lady also. In those tokens of grateful friendship old Hudur, as we may easily suppose, was not forgotten. The letter to Semund concluded with these words:—

'It is astonishing, my dear friend, how the aspect of everything around us changes when we cease to view it through the distorting medium of sorrow and disappointment—perhaps of discontent would be a more appropriate term. The places, the very people I used to look upon with dislike

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when I deemed myself an alien, a poor neglected outcast from my country, now appear delightful in my eyes. Yet the change is not in them, but altogether in my own mind. Again I love Ireland, and deem it what in the romance of boyhood it seemed—the garden of the world, and its people the kindest and best, unless I except your own. Truly we are the creatures of circumstances. The cloud which misfortune had hung over my destiny was no sooner dispelled by the cheering beams of hope, than I beheld every object illumined with their radiance. Even the poetical feelings of former days returned, though I thought I was done with them for ever; and as the vessel that bore me rapidly over the blue waters from your country drew nearer and nearer to my own, these feelings were expressed in the lines which I subjoin for your dear Marfreda, who, I hope, will sometimes sing them for the writer's sake to the air of our national anthem:—

Dear is the white-rolling surge's commotion,
And welcome their hoarse-sounding murmur to me,
As they lash the tall cliffs that frown over the ocean,
The cliffs of green Erin, the pearl of the sea!
Blow on, then, ye breezes, our strained canvas swelling,
Our silver-streaked keel like an arrow impelling
To the fair isle of beauty, the home of sweet Ellen,
The mansion of honour, the pearl of the sea!

Her flower-spangled valleys, her russet-browed mountains,
Her clear, silver streamlets that wind through the lea,
The chant of her groves, and the health of her fountains,
All these might endear other countries to me!
But the heart that can prize modest merit's endeavour,
The free hand of bounty expanded for ever,
And friendship's warm smile, that no distance can sever,
Mark the fair isle of beauty, the pearl of the sea!

Thou bright star of eve while I watch thy descending,
Thy diamond-eyed cresset nigh sinking to rest,
I mourn not thy loss since our course we are bending
To the fair isle of beauty, the pearl of the west!
Blow on, then, ye breezes, our strained canvas swelling,
Our silver-streaked keel like an arrow impelling
To the fair isle of beauty, the home of sweet Ellen,
The mansion of honour, the pearl of the sea!

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?

THE name PHILOSOPHY is associated with some of the most dignified and venerable notions that pass current among men. In the exercise of some of our highest faculties, and in the most arduous encounters with the world and human life—in moments of trial and of triumph—in the enterprises that contribute most to the advancement and elevation of mankind—we are frequently brought face to face with this so-called philosophy. There is evidently embodied under it some vast, wide-ranging, deeply-penetrating, and all-encompassing conception—something peculiarly interesting to humanity, no less in matters of practical business than in what concerns the tastes or distastes of the many and the favourite pursuits of a select few.

Accurately to investigate and define the general terms made use of in the intercourse of life is an important exercise of human thought. Besides being one of the special functions of scientific inquiry, it is called for in all cases, especially where differences of opinion exist on matters of faith or practice. It is agreed upon as indispensable in controversies, that the combatants should each define the leading terms they think it necessary to employ, in order that the diversity of opinion may not be exaggerated by misapprehensions in the use of language. Moreover, the employment of terms of solemn and weighty import has so great an influence upon the reputations of individuals and the actions of life, that it ought to be conducted with the highest discrimination and judgment; and for this end the precise scope and meaning of all such terms ought to be clearly settled and understood. Such epithets as religious or irreligious, moral, honourable, honest, just, benevolent, civilised, scientific, philosophical, ought not to be scattered at random on men, opinions, and actions. They ought to be so clearly determined by sound definition and consistent usage, and the public mind should be so educated into the understanding of the attributes expressed by them, that no false distribution of merit or demerit should ever take place through their instrumentality.

If we collect the cases of the ordinary application of the words philosophy, philosopher, philosophical, we shall find them to be such as the following:—

1. The range or compass of what a man knows, or is able to know, is indicated in the Shakspearian sentence: 'There are more things in heaven

and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy.' The scope of the human intellect; the portions of the universe that man's understanding has been able to fathom, comprehend, or explain; the extent of the knowable—change and enlarge from age to age, and in the same proportion does philosophy expand. It is manifest from this application of the term that philosophy is closely allied with the operations of man's understanding in the attainment of knowledge, and in the rational comprehension of the appearances and ongoings of the world.

2. Campbell's expression on the rainbow—'I ask not proud philosophy to teach me what thou art'—marks out to us the existence of two very different ways that nature may act on the human mind—two distinct sensibilities to outward things, or different trains of thought and feeling that may be awakened by them. The poetic sensibility is contrasted with the intellectual comprehension, and this intellectual comprehension is philosophy. Not only are these two effects different, but they are, in the poet's view, incompatible or mutually destructive; and such is to a great extent the fact. The effects of the scenery of the world upon the senses and emotions are most powerful and perfect when no thought is taken of the scientific explanations; which last may be compared to peeping behind the scenes, or to the dissection of a toy to discover the inner springs of its movements. The operation of dissection, analysis, and explanation, has an interest of its own, and a fascination often of a very powerful kind; but this must never be confounded with the poetic impressiveness of the great aggregates of natural scenery. There is a poetic grandeur in the ocean, and also a field for our rational faculties in analysing its properties and effects in order to bring them severally under laws of gravity and fluidity; but the two aspects permanently contrast themselves with one another, they cannot well be viewed at the same moment, and they are for the most part entertained by different classes of minds. As in Campbell's sentiment the one aspect is often vehemently repelled by such as occupy themselves with the other aspect. The poetic side is the most universally popular and fascinating—the side that men in all ages and countries are naturally alive to; while the treatment the poet here bids away from him is cared for only by a few through natural preference, or if by a larger number, it is in consequence of an artificial schooling of the human faculties imposed in the name of philosophy.

3. The philosophy of a thing is often contrasted with a bare knowledge of the fact, and is something superadded to the conception of the superficial observer. Thus men have always been acquainted with the tides, but the philosophy of them was not attained till the time of Kepler and Newton, who traced them to the influences of the sun and moon. In this instance the philosophy lay in assigning the cause, or discerning the power behind the scenes that sustained this ancient fact. In the same way the philosophy of all the heavenly motions was discovered when the obvious appearances were connected with natural forces competent to produce them, and thus reduced to computation according to the known rate of action of those forces. The philosophy of a fact may therefore consist in clearing up its cause, or in identifying it with the other facts of the same kind scattered over creation far and near; by which means the human mind comes to the knowledge of wide-ranging imperial powers,

forces, and regulations, enabling it at one glance to lift the veil from a whole department of nature, and obtain the exalted position of knowing the many through the experience of the one. When this position of large view and explanatory range is attained through the intellectual efforts of observing and reflecting men, we call the result philosophy. The elevation that man acquires by thus identifying the far and near, the heaven and the earth, not unnaturally inspires the sentiment glanced at by the poet in the feeling he expresses towards *proud philosophy*. Unfathomable mystery, incomprehensible evolution, have a subduing and humbling effect on the human mind; while the intellectual victory over the obscurity of nature, like other triumphs, and like the acquisition of power in any shape, fills man with the feeling of pride, mastery, and independence.

4. Philosophy is applied to express action founded on the knowledge of general laws as distinguished from action founded on the experience of particular cases. A man whose knowledge is deduced from the general views above alluded to is often called a theorist, while one whose knowledge has arisen from personal acquaintance with facts is called a practical man. Thus a mechanician engaged in the manufacture of steam-engines or ships may owe his knowledge and power of judging of the effect of his combinations either from the general principles that have been laid down regarding forces, pressure, strength and stress of materials, and so on, or from a long practical handling of machinery in many forms. The one knowledge would be called philosophy—the other practical experience. Each of the two kinds has its advantages and defects, and a combination of both is the only secure basis of constructive operations.

5. Conduct according to right reason, as distinguished from the impulses of blind passion and unenlightened instinct, not unfrequently receives the complimentary designation of philosophy. The intelligent perception of ends, and the equally intelligent adaptation of means adequate to their attainment in spite of the allurements of temporary fascination and personal bias, require an effort of human nature, involving especially the predominance of the larger views of the intellect over the narrow views of the inferior appetites and instincts.

6. The maintenance of a serene, tranquil frame of mind and conduct in the midst of the harassments and exciting incidents of life, has been often dignified with the appellation we are now discussing. At first sight this might indicate merely great energy of will, resolution, and self-restraint, which of itself never amounts to philosophy; it being evident from the meanings already passed in review that some exercise of the understanding or intelligence is always implied in the use of the term. But at the bottom of this serenity and impassiveness there will always be found some basis of reflection, some considerations and reasons that have determined the individual to resist the influences that trouble and excite the spirit; and these reflections, considerations, and reasons constitute the philosophy of the effort.

7. There are many ways of cheering and consoling the human mind under the ills and misfortunes of life. The afflicted may have recourse to outbursts of grief, which is nature's own relief; or of rage, which is equally natural. Diversion of mind may be sought in occupation or in

distraction. The influences of religion may be invoked. But if in place of any of these or of others like them, the mind attains a state of comfort and solacement by meditation on the scheme of the world and of human life, and by reflecting on the fact, that we are at the mercy of general laws which, although now and then cruel to individuals, work for good on the whole, the result is a victory of philosophy.

8. The method adopted in the conduct of inquiries and investigations into the world is sometimes termed philosophy. It is in this sense we speak of the philosophy of Bacon; meaning the plan propounded by him for attaining the knowledge of the general laws and properties of the universe. Socrates was a philosopher by pre-eminence in this sense, as well as in many other senses. In the century succeeding Bacon it was very common to contrast the philosophies of Descartes and Newton; and the contrast lay not only in the different explanations that they gave of the same facts—as, for instance, the planetary movements—but in their whole style of proceeding in their investigations, and in what they considered possible to be known.

9. In the expository treatment of different branches of human knowledge, a more or less philosophical method may be observed; and it is not unusual for authors and teachers to assume to their peculiar method the distinction of being a philosophy of the subject. Thus we have philosophies of arithmetic, of grammar, of language, of law, of morals, of history, and so forth—implying that the subjects have been reduced to general laws and doctrines, and to the certainty of the highest style of proof, and that the parts have been laid out in the natural order of succession and dependence. The contrast between generalised knowledge and special knowledge, or between doctrines ranging over a whole department of nature and isolated facts and individual occurrences, is expressed by the appellation of philosophy. This point has been alluded to under a previous meaning not very different from the present.

10. A very ancient distinction was made between natural and moral philosophy—the one being intended to express the intellectual comprehension of the world, and of its mathematical, mechanical, chemical, and other relations; while the name 'moral' was given to the employment of man's highest reason in the practice of life. This last branch was created by Socrates, who was the professed enemy of the other, counting it both unattainable and useless. When the study of the means of securing human happiness and the highest ends of existence is conducted by a man of superior intellect, who can view the whole subject according to the general laws of being, of which mankind at large can take no account, we have the original meaning of moral philosophy. The philosophic mind and the common mind although framed originally in the same model, and perhaps equally gifted by nature, have totally different modes of working even when they take up a common subject. Both have to consider questions of human happiness, conduct, and virtue; but their styles of proceeding are very unlike each other—the difference lying chiefly in the grand distinction between the general or comprehensive knowledge and views, and the special, partial, or matter-of-fact knowledge.

11. The original meaning of the word philosophy is the love of knowledge; it indicated a peculiar taste or species of pursuit, just as we might

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?

speak of the love of music, of poetry, or of sport. The name would therefore apply to the class of persons whose predominating taste or appetite was for the exercises of the intellect in the searching out of actual truth. But the Greek term for knowledge, employed in this compound, meant both theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge, or what we call wisdom—an ambiguity of language corresponding with the great doctrinal peculiarity of Socrates, who considered that no man was properly qualified to practise any art whatsoever unless he could assign something like scientific reasons for what he did; while, on the other hand, he that knew thoroughly what justice, philanthropy, citizenship meant, would, as a matter of course, put his views into practice. In fact, the almost complete identification of knowledge with wise and virtuous action was a direct consequence of the systematic views and teaching of Socrates; for with him the great motive for philosophical inquiry was to serve the practical ends of life, in which he shewed a marked coincidence with the views of Lord Bacon. The acquisition of science and knowledge as an intellectual exercise and refined accomplishment would have been philosophy in the etymological sense, but hardly in the Socratic sense.

12. The knowledge of man's own nature has sometimes been considered as philosophy in the highest acceptation of the term; but general usage has never consented to restrict the word to this department. The motive for singling out this species of knowledge as pre-eminent in dignity is easy to discover. Humanity, like all other created works, affords a field for the discovery of general laws whereby to explain and predict the course of the individual events, and also, if need be, to supply suggestions for practical ends; in so far the body and mind of man do not differ from the world in general. Moreover, as the explanation of human nature implies a consideration of all the agencies and powers that exert any influence upon it—such as light, heat, weight—and the innumerable mechanical, chemical, and vital processes wrapped up in our existence, we really bring in by a sort of side-wind the knowledge of the larger half of the outward universe into our so-called philosophy of man; so much so, that there is hardly any department of nature that could escape being taken notice of in a perfect and complete encyclopædia of the human race. But the principal motive for distinguishing the knowledge of man and mind is shadowed forth in the old oracular saying: 'Know thyself.' Man is ever interesting to man; however much we may cast our regards abroad over the world, our ourselves and our fellow-men must always be what concerns us and interests us most. The care of our own existence, the sweetening of our own consciousness, and the ingoings and outgoings of others being ever present to our minds as the prominent matters of our study and care, we can take a greater interest in any knowledge, whether of matter-of-fact or of general doctrine, bearing upon these, than in the knowledge of the framework of the surrounding creation. In fact, the interest and engrossment of mind in itself is apt to be excessive and hurtful: a larger proportion of external interests and regards would in many cases contribute to the wholesome balance of existence. But although the intensity of selfish regard were kept within bounds of moderation, it would still follow that the knowledge of man would be the greatest knowledge, from the duty laid upon all of us to steer our existence with the utmost amount of wisdom and

enlightenment that the experience of the race has attained to. In short, it is the confluence of the theoretical and practical philosophies.

Now that a body of accurate knowledge has grown up under the designation of Science, the word philosophy is sometimes used to express *cosmophysics*. This application of the term is maintained throughout the able work of Mr G. H. Lewes, in the 'Biographical History of Philosophy.'

The term 'philosopher' is, as a matter of course, interpreted by the term philosophy; but in recent years this title is not so commonly bestowed upon individuals as formerly. There are various significant reasons for the change of the name. The principal reason is connected with the growth of accurate knowledge, and its subdivision into departments, known by the name of *sciences*. The cultivators of the enlarged or general knowledge of the world are now divided into classes according to the branches they pursue; and an intellectual man, in the scientific sense, instead of being called a philosopher, is spoken of as a mathematician, a chemist, a physiologist, a naturalist, &c. according to his department. The occasions of deviating from this rule in favour of the old term are when an individual has pushed his inquiries to the extent of opening up a new field of discovery, or materially expanded our intellectual grasp of the world at large, as in the case of Newton; or when the range of study has included several departments, and has tended to bring about a greater unity in the entire field of knowledge; or lastly, where the peculiar problems of ancient philosophy are still entertained, as by the class of men otherwise styled metaphysicians.

In the midst of all these meanings and shades of meaning it is not difficult to trace a pervading idea or notion—the idea of the employment of the observing, comparing, analysing, abstracting, generalising, and reasoning faculties of man to the comprehension of the world and the guidance of human life. It involves the contrast of matter of fact and scientific law, of practice and theory, of prejudice and truth, of conduct guided by passion, and conduct inspired by enlarged views of the entire compass of being. It is the interposition of intelligence between sensation and action. As art springs from imagination and taste, religion from reverence, war from combativeness, pride from will, so philosophy springs from intellect, adapting itself implicitly to the facts and forms of creation.

The vagueness of the language we are obliged to employ in speaking of the mind's operations makes it incumbent on us to specify in detail the peculiar march of the intellect in building up philosophy and science, as distinguished from its operations in art, in practical skill, and other forms of working. The attainment of natural truth demands both perceptive and creative faculties, no less than the production of works of beauty or of industrial power; but there is, nevertheless, a specific difference in the manner both of perceiving and creating which we hope to be able to point out.

It is impossible for human nature to produce any work whatever without mixing itself with it, or leaving the impress of its own peculiarities and machinery upon the result. Moreover, the gratification we receive from exercise or occupation depends on its coinciding with our favourite

modes of action. This gives rise to a very great contrast in the productions of human labour; some of these being suited to gratify the activities most natural and agreeable to man, while others have in view an external effect which may or may not be pleasing to the parties engaged. Poetry and art in general, as well as sports, amusements, and exercises for enjoyment's sake, belong to the first class; while productive industry, the business of life, and the search for truth, belong to the second class. In these last man is often coerced into occupations that are repugnant to him, from which there is no alleviation but the growth of a second nature in accordance with them, and the occasional indulgence in the egotistic class of exercises of mind or body. Happy is the individual whose first nature exactly coincides with the exercises called for by his outward condition, for to him work and pleasure are identical: he can at once gratify his favourite propensities and 'inherit the earth.'

We shall now allude, first, to the mode of *perceiving* the world peculiar to the scientific mind; and, second, to the class of *creations* requisite for embodying natural truth.

The world of matter and mind has an exceedingly complex and varied effect on the beholder, and is calculated to awaken an equally varied range of emotions, sentiments, and expressions. Each human being is impressed by preference with some one particular aspect, and gives way to the trains of thought and feeling corresponding to that aspect: his recollections are all tinged with it; the attempts at imitation, and the communication with other minds, are also of the same peculiar tinge and colour. To one man the engrossing aspect is wonder, the marvellous, and the sublime, and his whole manner in the presence of nature is moulded by this susceptibility: the objects that with him make the most abiding impression are objects of grandeur, mystery, and power: his language is full of expressions of this character; and if he has a creative turn, his poetry, sculpture, architecture, or whatever form of art he employs, will be of a kind to produce in him the impressions of his favourite class of outward appearances. To another man the world is a field for plodding industry and the creation of the means of human subsistence and comfort, and with him the objects calculated for human uses will arrest the attention by preference. A corn-field will have the interest created by the aspect of plenty; the trees of the forest will be looked at as raw material for houses, ships, and machinery; the mountains are quarries; the sea is the 'fishy deep' and the highway of nations; the heavens are the sailor's sign-post; and the human being a prime mover of machinery. Neither of these aspects of outward things corresponds exactly with the truth-seeker's point of view, although the second approaches more nearly to it than the first. *To be a natural philosopher, one must be susceptible to all the properties and actions of bodies that are anywise involved in the stream of their causation.* The world is a theatre of movement, progress, and change; and the succession of events and appearances hinges on a certain limited number of properties, and is by no means connected with the whole effects of nature on the human mind. If creation stood in eternal and frozen stillness, and if it were still possible that a contemplative mind should exist to study it, the science of that mind would consist in identifying the same appearances in different portions of the scene, and in finding out what appearances it

had placed nature always to associate together. No further scope for mental activity would be provided beyond the classing of like impressions, and the discovery of uniform conjunctions of appearances—in other words, philosophy would be wholly made up of the two operations of classification and the generalization of coincidences. As it is, these operations are still called for, but in connection with the still larger work of tracing causation, or the order and sequence of movements, appearances, and events.

The whole of the difficulty of scientific and philosophical research arises from the grand fact just hinted at—that the successions of causation do not hinge upon the obvious and striking properties of things, but on certain hidden, abstruse, and recondite properties that in many cases do not strike the senses at all, and in the larger number of instances fail to arrest the attention with any degree of prominence. There are a few sequences that are obvious—such as the succession of a blow and a fracture, the persistence of motion once commenced, the contagiousness of flame, the more ordinary consequences of heat, the stages of living growth; but not to mention that all these, except the two first, are complex results of a multitude of simpler successions which do not appear to the ordinary eye, many of the most conspicuous phenomena are knit together in their succession by bonds of union that it took ages to detect. The motions of the heavenly bodies, the origin of the clouds, rain, and hail, the causes of the thunder, are all of the abstruser kind: it is not in virtue of any power or property that the sense of man can recognise in these appearances, or in the other appearances that give them birth, that their causation depends. Who could find out the source of a cloud or assign the repositories of the hail by watching the sky? The senses of mankind could never of themselves have discovered the cause of summer and winter or the origin of the aurora.

Since, then, the links of power that govern the onward movements of the world are something hidden and transcending the ordinary senses, and demand for their comprehension a select class of perceptions, in many cases transferred from one object to another, the business of the philosophic inquirer is to acquire for himself a firm hold of these hinges of causation, and to practise the art of setting aside appearances that have in reality nothing to do with causation, although impressing the untutored mind with the ideas that they have.

We shall now cite a few of the primary impressions, that enable us to seize those turning-points of power which we have been alluding to. In the first place, *quantity*—or the notions of more and less, with the included notions of equality, multiplication, and division—although not itself a cause of any effect, is an attribute of every kind of cause, which it is indispensable to recognise, for it measures the degree or extent of working of all causes whatsoever. The repetition of objects makes *number*, which is transferred or appropriated as an artificial representation of magnitude, extent, and intensity, and is, in fact, the key to all comparative estimates, and all records of these properties. A mind keenly alive to the impression of repetition and plurality, and indifferent to all the other properties of the things themselves, is by this fact endowed with the *arithmetical capacity*, which may be said to be one of the foundations of

science, or of that artificial comprehension of the world already spoken of as embracing the true links of causation and power. If the fact of repetition does not deeply impress a person, and if, moreover, such person is very much taken up with the more intrinsic appearances and properties of the objects—their colours, forms, textures, &c.—it might be easily concluded that the gift of numbers had been denied in the case. Again, in viewing the essential links of causation, we find that *form* and *line* have very much to do with them. Straight lines, and straight-lined figures, curved lines of a highly symmetrical kind, such as circles, are incessantly present among the conditions of the world's movements and successions; consequently minds that can rigidly conceive this class of forms, and can hold on by them in spite of the allurements of beauty and taste—demanding, as these do, a totally different class of forms and directions—are to a certain extent qualified for the scientific point of view. The contemplation of mathematical lines and figures is rather a painful exercise to the majority of mankind; to a few individuals it is easy and natural. In the next place, the firm and ready conception of unmeaning forms—such as the letters of the alphabet used as mere symbols and marks—is an essential requirement of the scientific intellect. There must be not merely a vivid alphabetical memory, but a vivid recollection of the arbitrary meanings attached to alphabetical and symbolical marks. A person on being told once to associate for the time in his mind the letter *a* or *x* with a particular thing, must be able, on the force of that one telling, to hold the two fast together in his mind through a long series of symbolical manipulations and reasonings. The forming instantaneously of firm mental ties among symbols, lines, figures, quantities, and other abstract notions appealing to hardly any parts of our nature except the sense of naked forms, of quantity or plurality, is the faculty that constitutes a scientific endowment of mind. So many of these arbitrary connections have to be made in the course of a single chain of scientific proof or of investigation, that unless they cohere in the intellect without difficulty or delay, such processes are utterly impracticable.

The peculiarities now detailed—the intense mental grasp of quantity, number, mathematical lines and forms, and the power of taking firm hold, at a moment's notice, of symbols and arbitrary meanings—are only given as a sample of the elements that go to make the scientific mind and the scientific conception of the world. Many other primary notions of the same class might be pointed out, but none more characteristic than these, or more contrasted with the unscientific impressions derived from nature. The sense of force, pressure, energy, or power, enters largely into philosophical discussions, but under the restraints above specified; that is to say, the forces of nature have to be studied under mathematical conceptions and forms, and in a way very different from the treatment they receive at the hand of the poet. In fact, the philosopher succeeds best by never indulging the feeling of force at all, but by resolving all nature into distances, shapes, and changing situations. We cannot arrive at the secrets of nature's forces by interposing our own feelings of force into the matter: the tendency to explain the world's movements by our own has been one of the permanent sources of error and fallacy.

Each of the primary natural sciences, as arranged at the present day,

corresponds to a distinct department of natural phenomena and operations: mathematics, physics, chemistry, &c. are all distinguished in this respect. It may happen, therefore, that individual minds may be qualified specially for the study of one exact science, as well as generally for the management of scientific notions. A chemist requires skill in manipulation, and a tolerable eye for appearances, as well as the deeper characteristics of the scientific intellect. A naturalist—whose function it is to look at each natural object in the gross, or in all its aggregate of peculiarities, excepting only their poetic aspect—must have an eye for colour and surface as well as form and outline, and a scrutinising turn, so as to dispose him to dwell over an object till every feature of it be stamped in his mind; while the intellectual grasp or cohesiveness must be such as to bind all these varied features quickly and surely into an aggregate picture. Minerals, plants, animals, have all to be seen, studied, and remembered in this manner. The naturalist requires to have a greater number of susceptibilities awake than the mathematician or the man of pure abstractions; and he is not required to be so intensely cognizant of lines, figures, and quantities in their naked existence apart from the other properties of matter. The student of mind requires the special faculty of a discriminative consciousness; the social philosopher should be impressible to the abstractions expressing social relations, or such ideas as government, social union, family, morality, and the like. The geographer should be a naturalist on the large scale; the expanded area of the globe, and of its contained empires and continents, should be easily held out in his mind's eye, and the picture duly filled up with all its details of mountain-ranges, river basins, deserts, cities, and villages. Such a conception involves an amount of human interest that can hardly be included in any of the notions of abstract science.

It will thus be seen how very few of the ordinary appetites and susceptibilities of human nature can be gratified through the views of nature taken by the scientific mind in its endeavours to get at the links of causation, and predict and explain the course of natural events. The satisfaction that may be derived from the mind's cleaving fast to triangles, circles, ellipses, to quadratic equations and atomic theories, may be obtained in a high degree; to this may be added the pleasure of following out an aim, which is an inalienable possession of the human breast: there is the pleasure, moreover, of tracing and explaining the vast workings of nature, and of bringing simplicity out of complexity, and order out of confusion; also the gratification of acquiring truth and certainty, and the power that thence accrues: these are within the reach of the scientific man. But let him beware of seeking the pleasures of poetry and mystic fascination: the moment that these become an object a taint of corruption is introduced—a snare is set in the path, and there is no longer any security for real success.

The notion of *analysis*, or a certain mode of separating the complex products of nature, and the equally complex effects they produce on the human mind, is very much involved in the philosophic treatment of the world. This is another way of stating the great cardinal fact above noticed, that of the many properties belonging to a natural object, it is only a very few that are forces of causation, or instrumental in carrying on the course of nature's changes; and hence it is essential that a separation

WHAT IS RELEVANT?

should be made between such as have no reference to causation, and such as enter into the particular train of movements that we may be considering at the time. Thus of all the effects that a mountain can produce on our minds, and all the properties that we ascribe to it in consequence, very few of these are at all relevant in the question of gravitation: its colour, vegetation, and aspect of sublimity must be put out of the view in this consideration; the minerals and metals that compose it must be looked at in the one sole aspect of bulk and comparative weight; the imposing form must be taken solely as a key to the solid contents and the distribution of the mass. The elements of quantity and naked figure, combined with the consideration of relative weight, are what the mind must entertain in determining the agency of the mountain as a gravitating power—the very same elements that the mind restricts itself to when it looks upon a planet as a circling mass acting and reacting on other planets. This is an example of the analytic process, which is the distinction of science, as *combination* is the distinction of art, both industrial and poetic. The scientific analysis being in most cases a separation only in idea, it cannot exist in the practical use of substances. If we are to use iron as a weight, we must take all its other properties at the same time; and if there be any of these that are adverse to the object intended, some new substance must be introduced to neutralise them. The necessity of employing very complex objects for the sake of some one of their uses is a never-ending source of difficulty in practical operations, and one of the great trials of practical skill. How to prevent the many actions over and above the one sought from being hurtful is the main consideration in every combination used in art. It is a still greater difficulty in the employment of human beings, from the greater multitude of properties and activities attaching to them.

Analysis is requisite for this other reason—which is but an extension of the foregoing—that although the objects of nature may have various properties concerned in causation, these properties belong to different trains of causes; and as the study of nature imperatively requires that we should confine ourselves to one train of effects at a time, it is necessary that we should separate in our minds the various qualities from one another, for the purpose of ascertaining the causation due to each. The substance gold enters into many different streams of causation: it has weight or gravity, and exerts by this property the effect of mechanical pressure; it has cohesion, by which it resists blows and distension; it has malleability, by which it is susceptible of being spread out into thin leaf; it has a group of chemical powers—such as its resistance to oxidation; it has a special effect upon light, whence it derives its colour and lustre. Now although every one of these properties is concerned in causation, they belong to different kinds of causes, and on every one of them the substance fraternises with a distinct class of objects. Science must arrive at the individual causes operating in nature, and assign the precise efficacy of each; and in handling any one of the complex substances of the globe, it must treat it under one of its attributes at one time, and under another at another time, and thus make it the subject of a great many separate studies and expositions. To this we are driven from no other reason than that it has pleased the Creator to constitute the world on the plan of

having a great many different threads of causation—mechanical, chemical, vital, &c.—embodied in substances in very unequal degrees; so that things brought together as being similar in one effect—transparency, for example—differ in a great many other effects. It is the attribute and the glory of a philosophical mind to adapt itself precisely to what it finds in the world, and to repudiate the idea of dictating the facts or the order of creation.

So much for the sentient attributes of the philosophic mind, or the kind of impressions and properties that it must be intensely susceptible to and retentive of, and which are essentially unlike the impressions and properties retained by the larger sensibility of the artistic mind. We require now to allude to the creations that are called into existence for more completely laying hold of the framework of the universe and for explaining its succession and predicting its future. The creations of the poet are, certain forms of language, whose utterance excites and intoxicates men, and brings them into more perfect unison with the grandeur and poetic influences of the world; and also certain successions of imagery and events having the same peculiar influence on the mind. The other classes of artists work up their materials for the like purpose. The creations of the artisan and the man of business consist in the construction of machinery from the various ingredients of the world, for working out specific effects by a nice adjustment of nature's trains of causation. The creations of the man of science are more purely intellectual than any of these, and consist partly in adaptations of the same machinery of language which is the medium of the poet's influence, and partly of a multitude of diagrams and symbols of his own contriving.

As the peculiar composition of the world demands of the philosophic man a separate attention to things that really cannot exist in separation—an intellectual isolation, where an actual isolation is impossible—some machinery is requisite to effect this isolation; and the machinery differs somewhat according to the subject. To isolate lines and forms, outline diagrams are employed like those in Euclid; the circular, triangular, elliptic forms which cannot exist in nature without the accompaniments of solidity, &c. are represented by skeletons, whose outlines are considered, by courtesy, as having no solidity or thickness, and on these the mind exercises itself in determining the various collaterals and consequences of form apart from all other attributes. Another method of seizing hold of isolated properties, and of pointing them out to other minds, is by verbal definitions, or forms of speech, carefully contrived so as to indicate the thing in question and to exclude all other things. Every one knows what a definition is, and it is therefore needless to occupy our space with examples of this peculiar creation of the scientific mind. Coincident with the use of diagrams and definitions is the employment of general terms, which have reference to some isolated property or distinct influence in the stream of causation, and at the same time bring together a number of individual objects which all possess this power in common; thus the name 'quadruped' is a general term, having this twofold function of specifying an isolated property and naming a number of individual things, technically denominated a 'class.' As the isolation of separate properties proceeds in the course of investigation, new general terms are formed, and new classifications introduced. It is, moreover, required of the philosophic man that

he should revise the generalities made by the unphilosophic multitude, and substitute correcter modes of isolating the threads of causation, and correcter classifications of the objects of nature.

We have had occasion to remark that the links of causation of objects are sometimes such as the senses cannot seize at all, and become apparent only by indirect means, which do not tell us where the action lies. This is the nature of the chemical and vital actions, for of these the senses give us the gross results, but furnish no key whatever to the ultimate threads of causation. Gravitation we can comprehend by our senses, but it is not so with the subtle sequences in chemistry and physiology. The links of power in these actions, unfortunately for us, turn upon the atoms or minute particles of bodies, which defy even our microscopic vision; and we are driven to a creative process in order that we may apprehend what goes on, and render a strict account of the actual successions. We transfer from the sphere of sense the notions that best chime in with what takes place beyond the range of sense; and if the notions thus transferred or imagined enable us to render an account of the invisible thread of events, such as to explain all the visible results, we feel satisfied that our assumption is correct. For example, the notion of polarity—gained first from conspicuous objects, as magnetic bars, and terrestrial and celestial globes—is applied to express and represent the invisible atoms of crystallised and other substances, and to render an account of the attractions, repulsions, and other links of causation that hinge on these atoms; and thus, by means of the seen and tangible, we form an image of the unseen, and thereby trace the hand of nature in her most secret recesses. It may easily be supposed that the philosophic profession has found extensive employment in filling up, by imaginary figures and processes, these gaps and blanks of vision, and that this is the most arduous of all the operations of scientific inquiry. The atoms of chemistry can never be seen; the cells of physiology are partly visible by the microscope; but what is actually seen has to be very much enlarged by means of comparisons and notions otherwise derived, when we attempt to assign an exact order of succession and reproduction that will account for all the results. But for the impenetrable veil that hangs over large portions of the chains of nature's causations, we should ere this time have been much farther advanced in our comprehension of the machinery of the world. The stream of natural actions and events, which in some parts of its course is open and apparent, becomes in other parts submerged and withdrawn from human vision; and we are left to the toilsome process of applying analogies and guesses, and creating imaginary courses, taking our hints from an accurate consideration of the visible portions, and verifying our suppositions by their agreement with the seen issues of things. If a being were formed capable of seeing ultimate atoms and cells, and all their quiverings and motions, as easily as we can see the movements in a game of bowls, such a being, by the help of the mathematical skill of the present generation, might shortly reveal to us the deepest secrets of creation; instead of which we must plod on for centuries at the drudging trade of contriving comparisons to suit what we can never see, and trying first one and then another, till, after infinite loss of pains, we fill up the gap of sense by the mere force of scientific reason and imagination.

The diagrams, symbols, definitions, comparisons, and general language of science, now briefly alluded to, are familiar examples of the creations requisite for the philosophical explanation of the world. But anything these could suggest to an ordinary reader would give but a very faint notion of the vast range of intellectual machinery now in existence for handling the different classes of nature's sequences and connections. These definitions and general terms are wrought up into propositions, principles, or theorems, which give the mind an astonishing facility in transferring knowledge from one thing to another, which is the cardinal operation in all scientific proceedings. The theorems and devices of mathematics, the nomenclature of chemistry, the classifications of natural history, the descriptive language of anatomy, extend to a compass almost beyond the grasp of any single mind; and all is conducted on the principle of rigorously excluding extraneous emotions and feelings, and confining the mind to the view of properties and forms that are pertinent to the objects of the scientific man.

We have thus touched, so far as our limits will permit, on the intellectual workings or mental processes suitable for philosophical inquiry. The action of the mind always consists of a stream of successive impulses, images, conceptions, postures, or whatever name we may give to each single act of attention or mental engrossment; and this succession of impulses, conceptions, or pictures, is governed by a few simple laws expressive of the forces that drive us on from one notion to another. Now these forces that cause us to pass from thought to thought are the same for all mental streams whatever, but the thoughts and notions themselves may be very various. The march of the scientific mind is from proposition to proposition, from individual objects to scientific generalities, and from one stage of generality to another; the propositions and generalities being all rigorously confined to the properties and powers concerned in nature's causations. An iron discipline has enabled the scientific man to disregard the multifarious allurements of sensible objects, and to confine his regards to the isolated and meagre features that govern their actions upon one another, and to entertain only one species of actions at a time. Possessing his mind with these bare and selected features, and with the diagrams, symbols, definitions, theorems, and other representative creations suited to his purpose, he leaps from one to another through a long line of uninviting conceptions, and has usually for the conclusion of his march some piece of knowledge, some doctrine, or application of a doctrine, which embraces a link of causation or a coincidence of natural appearances. It would lead us too far if we were to present examples of these trains of mental successions, to which the designation of chains of abstract reasoning is sometimes applied; we must be content with merely hinting at their general character, and we trust to cast additional light upon them by the observations that we have still to make on the nature of legitimate science.

Having now detailed the various meanings attached to the term philosophy, together with the sentient and creative processes of the mind in its scientific workings, we shall endeavour to concentrate more specifically the essence of philosophy under a few distinct heads. All the various meanings given above merge more or less completely in three great divisions or

kinds, to which we may give the names of *Theoretical Philosophy*, *Practical Philosophy*, and *Philosophies of Life*. We shall briefly touch on each of these in succession.

THEORETICAL OR SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY.

The general or abstract sciences, which make up the body of Theoretical Philosophy, are the systematic expositions of the different departments of natural phenomena. There being, as already stated, in the causation of the world many distinct trains or threads, the necessities of man's limited intelligence require that each should be studied and recorded apart from the rest; hence we have a science of mathematics for the properties of number, quantity, and form, which do not in themselves involve causation, but are essential conditions in the statement of every kind of cause and effect. The sciences of causation are mechanics, astronomy, atomic cohesions, heat, light, electricity, chemistry, physiology, mind, and society. These represent the whole range of natural powers known to us, and they arrange the facts and laws respecting those powers in a manner best suited to their comprehension by the human intelligence.

Besides these pure and abstract sciences, each handling some one distinct department of nature's operations, and touching on other departments only in so far as they are inevitably involved in its own, there is a certain number of mixed sciences, which bring in no new ultimate principles or laws, but treat of phenomena locally associated in nature. Thus mineralogy is a mixed science, its causations are found among the mechanical, physical, or chemical laws; but it is convenient to treat as a separate branch of knowledge the concurrence of these various powers in one of nature's arrangements. We must not be for ever analysing and isolating the properties of natural bodies; we must be prepared to state what will be the collective action of a group of causes when they meet in the same subject, as in a mineral, metal, plant, or living creature. Hence sciences are formed with the view of treating natural objects as wholes, and taking account of every one of the peculiarities and forces of such objects. This is the origin of our natural history sciences—comprising mineralogy, botany, zoology, and geology as the leading members of the group. These are *concrete* sciences, as compared with physics, chemistry, and physiology, which belong to the general or abstract group: both sets are true sciences; but the one set adapt themselves to the aggregates or wholes presented in nature, the other search out and state apart the separate classes of properties or threads of causation.

In the building up of theoretical science by means of the appropriate inquiries, observations, experiments, inductions, deductions, hypotheses, classifications, &c. the legitimate motives and ends are such as the following:—The desire to attain an exact acquaintance with the order of natural events and of the associated appearances of the world of matter and mind, and for this purpose to penetrate the complicated mass of operations, and seize the single, ultimate, and indivisible threads of succession and links of companionship; the desire to reconcile all contradictions, and attain perfect consistency of views in every department of nature; the wish to possess

ourselves of the simple laws of creation, and trace their workings throughout; the longing after truth and certainty in our anticipations or predictions of the future as well as in retracing the past. The love of truth, consistency, and simplicity is the proper emotion of pure philosophy. Besides the gratification that may arise from the active exercise of intellect in its peculiar sphere, we may lawfully derive all the enjoyment that accrues from the tracing of similarity in apparent diversity, of unity in variety, of simplicity in complexity, of order in confusion. The clearing up of mysteries, and the successful comprehension of what seemed utterly beyond the ken of our faculties, may likewise delight the human spirit even to ecstasy. But these, though the legitimate, are not the only motives that have prompted men to apply themselves to the study of the world or to speculative philosophy.

The objects aimed at in the investigation of nature, the feelings associated with the pursuit, and the methods employed, have all undergone changes and modifications since the origin of speculative philosophy in the land of intellect—in ancient Greece—in the sixth century before Christ. The misleading influences arising from the manifold aspect of nature and from the tendencies of the primitive mind gave a false turn to the whole inquiry at the very outset, and it took ages to arrive at the proper point of view. The first philosophers could never have suspected the abstruse and hidden character of the powers that keep up the processes of nature; they were also completely ignorant of what was the proper subject to commence with. Inheriting the prepossessions given by the early poets, they sought to find out some one great ruling power that gave birth to all the appearances of creation, as the originating and sustaining impulse. One set of inquirers selected a physical agency for this purpose, such as water or liquidity; another class fell upon metaphysical abstractions, and in so doing opened up the arena of metaphysical discussion to the human intellect.

Of all the toils, conflicts, battles, and perilous adventures that have given undying interest to the history and poetry of the past, there are none that would more thoroughly arouse the sympathies of an intelligent mind than the struggles of infant man to comprehend the scheme of the world or to assign the moving forces that guided it and the law of their operation. Setting aside the mystery of life and the nature of mind—which, however, by an unfortunate weakness of our nature, are the most attractive and fascinating subjects of inquiry—what origin could an early speculator assign to the winds and clouds, and hail and lightning? If he were content to assume the daily revolution of the starry sphere as a primitive impulse of the circular kind, he would still be puzzled with the irregularities of the planets, the changes of the moon, and the alterations in the length of the day. Then what could he make of fire terrestrial or celestial? The tides of the sea must be an astonishing enigma. Vegetation and animal life superadded to all other peculiarities would serve to complete the mighty maze. And if, standing in still amazement over this whole spectacle, he thought of his own existence in the midst of it, as a being plunged into a pathless wilderness obliged to move on, but with scarcely the faintest perception where or how, we shall with difficulty picture to ourselves his strange emotions and fancies. In time men get habituated to anything; to die is always before them as an issue in time

of difficulty; but the young fresh intellect of a gifted nature would have to pass through the melancholy pangs of perplexity, varied with wild gleams of hope and exultation bursting forth now and then as there rose to view an apparent solution of some one of the many mysteries of being. Solutions springing out of the depths of despair or the pride of intelligence were the philosophies of the ancient world.

Two eminent men stand out as taking a lead in their respective epochs in reforming the prevailing methods of inquiry — Socrates and Lord Bacon. But in modern ages the reformation has been principally owing to examples set by the individual inquirers whose better instincts and more correct intelligence were their guide; among these Galileo and Newton have a conspicuous place. In the midst of the varied studies of every age since philosophy began, there have always been a select few at work at the right end of the chain; and their labours gradually built up a mass of sure and permanent results, although for a long time these results fell short of the impatient curiosity of men. In the early centuries, when impossible problems were agitating the minds of the leading men, there grew up that precious contribution to mathematical knowledge contained in the works of Euclid and other Alexandrian geometers. In the wildest days of alchemy there were a few scattered chemists whose inquiries were sober and practical, and led to the greater part of the real knowledge of chemical substances that was accumulated in the middle age. Among the endless diversity of human characters, there occur at intervals men naturally free of the vices of their age, who can with little effort set an example of a better state of things; and in the scientific walk such cases have not been unfrequent. A powerful one-sided nature, utterly unsusceptible to the ordinary enticements and allurements of the world, and having for its peculiarity the love of those bare and naked forms, figures and properties, which causation hinges on, may fulfil the great destination of turning a bewildered world into the paths of successful inquiry.

At the present time, when science has advanced so far as to establish beyond question the legitimate ends of pursuit and the means of attaining them, by well-guarded observations, experiments, generalisations, and proofs, the errors of the past are for the most part matters of history. Yet in saying that the proper ends of science as well as its proper means are now generally recognised, we must except from the statement the branches of knowledge whose subjects touch most closely and directly on human feelings and interests — the sciences, namely, of man and society. To these subjects imperfection of method still cleaves; and the obstacles that anciently obstructed the physical sciences, arising from the prejudices, prepossessions, and sentiments of primitive man, still operate in their case.

The most striking portion of Lord Bacon's work on the reformation of philosophy, the 'Novum Organon,' consisted in an exposition of the prevailing obstructions in the way of a sound method of inquiry. To these he gave the expressive name of 'idola,' or idols, and he divided them into various species according to their origin. One class he denominated idols of the tribe, because they were corrupting influences belonging to universal human nature; a second class were idols of the cavern, or special influences at work on individuals; the third class were idols of the market-place, having their origin in social intercourse: under this head he illustrated the

abuses of language. The last class were idols of theatre—meaning the love of theatrical display and imposing effects, which he considered to be the motive of adherence to some of the systems of philosophy that had once been popular.

The most comprehensive exposition of 'idola' could scarcely include all the ways that the human mind is perverted and corrupted in its search after truth. Almost every feeling, instinct, emotion, and passion of human nature may come in as an obstacle; at all events it would be easier to specify the exceptions than to give a full detail of all that come under the rule. We have already alluded to the legitimate gratifications accorded to the human mind by a true scientific method and by the pure doctrines of science; but these gratifications being mostly founded in intellect must be the favourite enjoyment of the few rather than of the many.

In attempting to specify a number of the 'idola' or influences that obstruct the march of sound philosophy, we shall confine ourselves to two descriptions of them; selecting either those that are of a permanent character, owing to the nature of the human constitution, or those that more particularly attach to the present time.

1. The want of vigour and force in the human intellect in general is the foremost cause of the slowness of scientific discovery. The average run of human beings are utterly destitute of the endowments requisite for the accurate comprehension of nature's intricacies, far less for original discovery. The superficial aspects of things, the glitter and colour of outward appearances, the favourite likings, the hereditary traditions, the imperfections of ordinary speech, are too much for a mind where intellect is not of more than common power. As a general rule man is not made for seizing the true point of view of the world, or for setting aside appearance and delusive hopes to grasp at the actual links of power and certainty which govern the course of natural operations. An individual here and there among the privileged races of the globe possesses this faculty; but if ever it be called into exercise for this end, it must sustain the opposition caused by the general tendencies of the multitude in addition to the natural difficulties of the case. The hold that such individuals have on the world is derived partly from the influence of an ascendant intellect, and partly from the necessity that comes to be felt every now and then for correct information as to the course of the world where all live and move and have their being.

2. Aversion to the abstract method, a method we have seen to be essential to science—in other words, to those naked and artificial conceptions that are involved in the links of causation. The notions, symbols, and machinery of mathematics, the doctrines of atomic attractions and repulsions, the theory of latent heat, the refractions and undulations of light, the laws of chemical atoms, the structure of cells, fibres, and tissues, the abstractions that have been employed to give an icy touch to the warm emotions of humanity—are all extremely repulsive to the natural mind. It is felt as a great hardship that these notions are essential to the understanding of the plans and operations of the great workshop of creation. The coercion of intellect requisite for acquiring all these notions, and carrying on chains of reasoning by their means, is usually a painful process of discipline; and men in general would much rather that they had to deal

only with objects as they appear to the senses and in all the fulness of their manifestation. To speak of nine loaves, nine men, nine pounds, is always easy, but to carry on processes with numbers in general is a distasteful operation, requiring the salutary compulsion of the schoolmaster. It is pleasant to handle a rose, or rest under a spreading oak, but to be unable to comprehend the growth and production of these objects without a system of diagrams and obscure reasonings about the development of cells and the movements of invisible globules, seems a freak of nature to set off the luxury of sense by the labour of the intellect. No lesson is more incessantly taught to men than that they should use their intellectual faculties, and yet they have often found it an easier task to make the most slavish submissions to spiritual and temporal despotisms.

The progress of discovery, which in many cases, although not in all, leads to simplicity and intelligibility of doctrines, and to the advancement of the arts of exposition and style, tend more and more to take off the harsh edge of scientific forms, and to adapt them to the popular liking for the concrete in nature, and for displays to the senses. This is one of the most important aspects of our civilisation, seeing that the accurate comprehension of the world, instead of being the prerogative of a few, is indispensable to the happiness and wellbeing of all.

It is the business of poetry and art to work up the concretes or totals of nature, or to confer direct enjoyment and a cultivation apart from the discipline and truth giving possessions of science. In some rare instances the interest of scientific expositions approaches to the poetic: the large objects and sublime periods of astronomy and geology; the beautiful symmetries disclosed in mineral as well as in vegetable and animal structures; the mysterious grandeur of the subtle powers of heat, electricity, and light; the structure of human thought and emotion—may stimulate the curiosity and excite the attention of men, like a work of high art, but such cases must not mislead us into supposing that there is any close affinity between art and science. Contrariety and contrast are the essential relation between the two. The 'poetry of science' is not a proper combination of terms: the incongruity of the designation is apparent at once if we take an extreme case of each, and compare the Psalms of David with a treatise on algebra, or Hamlet with Quain's Anatomy.

3. A grand obstacle to the attainment of scientific truth has arisen from the reluctance and the inability to understand what knowledge is, or what the human mind can really attain to in the comprehension of the world. There has been all along a struggle both to go farther back into the origin of things and to penetrate deeper down into their essence and nature than becomes the faculties of our nature as at present constituted. We stand looking at a stream of events and successive appearances, and we are able to ascertain the things that go in company and the things that uniformly succeed each other; and by possessing the knowledge of these uniformities of coincidence and succession we can go a certain way forward in anticipating the future and a certain way backward in retracing the past; but we cannot by any inquiries of ours attain a knowledge of the first commencement of things, or see deeper into their essence than by conceiving them as they appear to our senses and reason with all their relations of companionship and sequence. Of gravity we can only know the fact of the

mutual approach of all material substances according to a certain invariable rate; and to seek for any other hold of the phenomenon is to labour in vain.

4. Considerable misapprehension arises from the disposition to dictate the purpose or end that the Creator had in view in the various objects around us. In this, as in other sources of error, we are apt to transfer our own personality to the large operations of the world; and because in our little sphere of action we view everything according to its utility in the affairs of life, we rise to the belief that a similar utility is the final end of all creation. This feeling makes us ready to receive implicitly any statements as to the facts of the world that shew design according to our notions of design; whereas all such inferences should at the very least be postponed till our knowledge of the facts has become clear and precise beyond all doubt. The consideration of final ends has in various remarkable instances thrown light upon the structure of animal organisations; but the greatest caution is requisite in using this as a means of discovery or explanation.

5. We may notice next the obstructions arising from preconceptions as to what is proper, perfect, or becoming in nature's arrangements. The belief in the circular nature of the planetary motions is the most notable example of this tendency—it having been assumed that a circle was perfection, and that no other figure suited the dignity of a planet.

It would be easy to enumerate a variety of objections that have one after the other been proved, beyond the possibility of cavil, to be erroneous, although previously assumed to be valid. We need, however, only refer to Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, and Jenner's discovery of the properties of vaccination; both of which were at first assumed to be at variance with truth, yet were finally established as correct. In the latter of these questions there mingled—as there does in many other questions—a sentiment of repugnance at the idea of human beings having anything in common with the constitution of the brutes. Now the doctrine might or might not be true; but it is perfectly irrational to suppose that its bearing upon human pride could have been any presumption against it. Such facts, in connection with the progress of knowledge, should have the effect of inducing much caution in judging of new discoveries in physical science.*

In social doctrines the intrusion of preconceived notions is still more frequent and more mischievous. Regardless of the actual facts, we insist

*Archbishop Whately distinguishes between two kinds of discoveries of truth—the communication of the one of which he calls *information*, and of the other *instruction*. The former relates to matters of fact not known before, such as the distance of the earth from the sun. 'The communication of this kind of knowledge is most usually, and most strictly, called *information*. We gain it from *observation*, and from *testimony*. No mere internal workings of our own minds (except when the mind itself is the very object to be observed), or mere discussions in words, will make a fact known to us; though there is great room for sagacity in judging what *testimony* to admit, and in the forming of *conjectures* that may lead to profitable *observation*, and to experiments with a view to it. The other class of discoveries is of a very different nature. That which may be elicited by Reasoning, and consequently is implied in that which we already know, we assent to on that ground, and not from observation or testimony. To take a geometrical truth upon *trust*, or to attempt to ascertain it by *observation*, would betray a total ignorance of the nature of the science.'

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on finding in nature what we consider suitable to human happiness. We are apt to assume that because man exists, therefore all things necessary for his wellbeing—according to our ideas of it—must also exist, and that nothing but bad laws or bad government stands in the way of the universal happiness of the race. When Malthus put forth a statement as to the necessity of limiting the increase of population in order to increase the dividend of wealth, instead of discussing his doctrine like any other interpretation of the facts of the world, a storm of indignation was raised at the very thought of such a thing, which has taken more than a generation to subside. Again, it is supposed that because we are born with certain desires we shall, as a matter of course, find the means of their gratification; whereas the facts of the world teach us that many of our desires can never be gratified, and that for our own quietness it is absolutely essential to restrain, and almost extinguish many appetites and longings, and content ourselves with the gratification of only a very small fraction of human wishes. Nature will often turn a deaf ear to our most earnest prayers and most amiable and refined longings.

6. The love of the marvellous is remarkable for its influence in corrupting our faculties in the search after natural truth. From the fascination and stimulus of this class of objects they are purposely brought together in romantic and other compositions intended for agreeable excitement. What is familiar, ordinary, common, being apt to lose its interest and become stale, we take delight in encountering what is extraordinary, startling, and opposite to our usual experience. The stars cease to arrest our gaze, but a meteor flashing across the sky draws every eye upon its course. The sun and moon become objects of intense interest when in the rare and striking situation of an eclipse. Events either strongly contrasting with the usual run of things, or rising far above ordinary in magnitude, grandeur, or imposing effect, are the seasoning of life's dulness. To see, and afterwards to relate, uncommon occurrences and objects at variance with all experience, is delightful to wise and ignorant alike; but to rude ages and uncultivated minds novelties, rarities, and marvels are especially agreeable.

Now this itch for marvels is very apt to interfere with the cool observation of facts, and still more with the record and narration of them to others. Of course in phenomena of a rare and striking kind the difficulty of avoiding exaggeration is increased. In such things as earthquakes, meteors, eclipses, and rare and extraordinary productions, none but a highly-disciplined mind is capable of giving unvarnished statements to others, or forming an accurate conception to itself.

There are two subjects where the love of the marvellous has especially retarded the progress of correct knowledge—the manners of foreign countries, and the instincts of the brute creation. To exaggerate and make known signs and wonders is the standing vice of travellers, even when they do not absolutely manufacture fictions. The early travellers, going abroad with the notions of superstitious ages, and with little discipline in the arts of observation and correct writing, could in general be so little trusted that the cautious part of the public looked with suspicion upon marvellous statements in general, and in some instances discredited what was actually true. The greatest traveller of antiquity

and the earliest accurate historian* repeatedly and expressly refrains from mentioning what he saw from anticipating the incredulity of his readers, who, while delighting in certain kinds of the marvellous, might bring into play another instinct of uncultivated human nature—namely, the tendency to measure the whole world by the narrow standard of our own limited experience.

It is extremely difficult to obtain true observations of the instincts of animals from the disposition to make them subjects of marvel and astonishment. Many people take delight in storing up tales of the extraordinary sagacity of dogs, cats, horses, birds, &c. in doing things quite incomprehensible and inexplicable in any law of nature whatsoever. It is nearly as impossible to acquire a knowledge of animals from popular stories and anecdotes, as it would be to attain a knowledge of human nature from the narratives of parental fondness and friendly partiality.

7. The thirst for premature explanations of the world's obscurities, so natural to the class of minds whose intellectual tastes are strong, is a cause of evil as well as of good. It is hard to feel an utter incapacity to know what is within the reach of the human faculties, and will one day be blazed abroad in the clearest daylight. Rather than wait for the natural evolution of the doctrines and views that will suffice to explain the mysterious powers of life and organisation, the impatient mind seizes upon some plausible supposition, and intrudes it by main force into the appearances, thereby incurring the temptation to slur over difficulties and misrepresent facts for the sake of maintaining the credit of its misplaced ingenuity. A very great number of the hypotheses and opinions constituting the history of philosophy belong to the class of premature and impossible attempts. There is an order to be observed in the course of discovery: we must advance from the simple to the compound; and if we have set our heart upon knowing the laws of causation in any complex subject—such as the growth of living tissues—we must first ascertain the laws of the separate agencies that enter into the complex action. For example, the growth of a vegetable is brought about by a host of distinct powers or causes. We can see in it the presence of the cohesive or aggregating agency which binds the atoms of bodies together into masses, the expanding and transforming energy of heat, the attraction of tubes for liquids, the solvency of watery fluids, chemical combinations and decompositions, the action of light—which is at present not distinctly understood—the formation of cells from one another, and there may be many more agencies besides. Now until each one of these influences has been well studied in circumstances where it stands out apart from the others, it is utterly hopeless to attempt to render an account of the complex stream where all run together. A scientific man will never willingly enter on the investigation of any difficulty until he conceives that all the questions that go before it as preliminaries have once been settled. As science advances, it becomes more easy to see what subjects stand next in order for inquiry; but in early times there was the greatest confusion and mistakes on this point.

In the foregoing enumeration of obstacles to sound philosophy we have

* Herodotus.

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only selected some of the more prominent, it being impossible for us to present a complete and exhaustive catalogue. We have passed over influences of a more special and individual kind—such as the various forms of human vanity and egotism, the sinister ends of interested sects, the pleasures of illusion and hope, and other susceptibilities which an orator is permitted to work upon to serve the passing ends of everyday life. The taste for what is true and certain has much to contend against, and at times its struggles rise to the tragic and sublime. The total submission of the entire being to what has been proved by evidence is the crowning-point of the scientific character; it is the ascendancy of truth and reason, the victory of pure intelligence over all the workings of sense and passion, a still small voice making itself heard amidst the war of elements.

PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY.

Philosophy has from a very early period been associated more or less with the practical ends and business proceedings of life. The two great agitations for philosophic reform, the one in the ancient world and the other in the modern—the movements of Socrates and Bacon—set forth prominently the need of a more practical turn being given to men's inquiries into nature. When the doctrines and principles of science are so shaped and adapted as to supply guidance to some branch of human business or occupation, science or philosophy is then said to be practical, and the practice so guided is said to be scientific or philosophical. A modern treatise on navigation is a fair example of this union of theory and practice; the abstract doctrines of mathematics, astronomy, and physics are selected, brought together, and arranged so as to suit the practical emergencies of seamanship. Instead of teaching all that the faculties of man have been able to make out respecting geometry and astronomy, and presenting it in the order best fitted for the comprehension of the whole, a selection is made of certain propositions in each science, which help to solve the practical problems arising in navigation; and a number of rules are devised for shortening the work as much as possible. The delight in mathematical truth, and the taste for abstract speculation and comprehensive knowledge, are not recognised as inhering in the seafaring mind: should such tastes exist over and above the necessities of the navigating art, they are provided for by the works that discuss science in general, or by treatises in the various departments of theoretical philosophy. These departments we have already enumerated.

The adaptation of science to practice, and the reference by practice to science, have been insisted on by sound-thinking men as equally necessary for both. If science were conducted merely for the gratification of the intellectual tastes, or to enable a few people to live what is called a life of contemplation—which some of the Greek philosophers were wont to call the highest life—the danger would be that rigid certainty of doctrines would give way to luxurious and pleasing notions capable of contributing to this peculiar mode of enjoying existence. It is the application to practice that makes the test of theories. The doctrines of gravitation, and the theories of the sun, moon, and planets, are daily subjected to the ordeal

of the navigator, who has valuable lives and property at their mercy. This great practical stake has been a very strong motive to acquire correct knowledge of the heavenly bodies; and the habits of accuracy that have been once engendered by practical wants come to be extended to portions of the subject having no immediate bearing on practice.

The actions of men are partly instinctive, partly imitative, and partly ruled by their own personal experience, and by the experience of others, communicated by speech or writing. Eating, walking, pursuit, fighting, and loving, are instinctive emanations of the human soul. Education and imitation communicate numerous well-known faculties. Personal experience goes for a great deal in every one's life; indeed instruction imparted from without has but little efficacy till actual experience has clenched the lessons. The acquisition of other men's experience supposes that the facts of the outer and inner world have been expressed in intelligible speech—a most important step in human history, marking the period when the knowledge of successive generations could be accumulated and preserved, and when the human race should become like one immortal, growing in age and wisdom, but ever fresh and green.

The idea of expressing all knowledge, experience, and wisdom in language or speech is so familiar to us that we seldom reflect on the quantity of knowledge that is never communicated, or on the work performed by mere unthinking experience. A man may go through his operations of tilling the ground, thrashing, grinding, spinning, fishing, quarrying, in perfect silence, and without being able to convey in words the experience he goes upon, or the different steps of his processes; these steps being engraved in the habits of his body, without having been ever expressed by his tongue. The eye sees, the hand feels, the body in general acts; the workman knows what he is about, what he wishes, and what he can do; he has spent a life of actual trial and error, and he has learned to take the course that avoids the error, but still he need not speak about it. Description by language is something over and above the skill and wisdom of the workman, be he what he may; and such description is very apt to fall below this wisdom, and to fail entirely in putting others in possession of it. Hence the most skilful mechanics, navigators, soldiers, physicians, rulers, have been unable to leave behind them the record of their wisdom, or to throw their mantle upon their successors by communicating the secrets of their procedure. Not to speak of the impossibility of every man doing whatever he sees another doing, it has really been found impracticable to record all the sensations of a keen eye and a delicate hand, so as to put others in the position to profit by the knowledge of nature thus acquired. A physician may discern symptoms that he cannot by any very verbal description teach his pupil to discern, and thus his skill in adapting remedies may perish with him.

Now it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that there is neither philosophy, science, nor doctrine possible without speech. No facts or observations can be of any avail in science unless they can be expressed in language. Science must be something that all men can possess; herein it is distinguished from the instincts of the animal creation or the incommunicable knack of the skilled artisan. If there be facts that elude expression, or that language has not yet been adapted to, such facts have

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not been brought within the pale of philosophy, however well they may be recognised in practice. The sailor may have a discernment of the signs of the sky over and above any knowledge that has yet found its way into meteorology: to this extent he is ahead of science; but in as far as he is so, his knowledge dies with him, and to his successor it is as if he had never lived.

These observations are necessary to pave the way for the remark, that the existing science of the world at any one time may be utterly useless for any practical end whatsoever, and its pretensions to interfere in practice may have to be denied and resisted. There is usually required a very high degree of advancement in any branch of speculative knowledge to enable it to overbear and correct the experience of the practical man, and if it brings forward premature claims to the direction of workmanship and affairs, the result may be ruinous to all concerned. The Egyptians had acquired by their experience a certain knowledge of land-measuring before the existence of geometry and trigonometry: the theorems of Euclid would have served to increase their powers in this respect to an immense extent; but if in the early stages of geometrical speculation, when only a small number of Euclid's theorems were known, and when perhaps there were fallacious propositions afloat among the cultivators of the science, it would have been purely mischievous for any geometer to propose innovations in the rule-of-thumb practice of the Egyptian surveyors. The philosopher Aristotle is said to have been jealous of the success of his contemporary Isocrates, the greatest teacher of oratory and special pleading of his time, and to have expressed very great contempt for the narrow doctrines of rhetorical art made use of by this famous rhetorician. The philosopher's own treatise on rhetoric took a far higher flight than any system of instruction hitherto known to professors of oratory, and made a searching analysis into the foundations of the rhetorical art; but it may be doubted whether any direct use has ever been made of this treatise in the art of teaching, or in the actual equipment of an orator or poet. At that stage of the subject, the discussion, although having a practical end in view from the very first, could only be considered as an exercise of intellect, a gratification of speculative curiosity, and a commencement of what might in some future day be productive of great practical results; which results would not come out unless the science were cultivated and studied for a long time without any practical gain. The same remark holds in logic, ethics, and political theories. While in their early infancy, any light that can be obtained from such branches of doctrine is less to be trusted to than the sagacity and experience of practical men having no theory except some narrow generalisations of their own, which, as they never repose on any analysis of ultimate laws, cannot deserve the name of science or philosophy.

The practical sciences, or, as we may term them, the branches or divisions of practical philosophy, are such as the following:—the various departments of knowledge made use of in the healing art—pharmacy, medicine, surgery, midwifery, &c.; agriculture, practical mechanics, metallurgy, engineering, architecture, navigation, dyeing, painting, perspective, decoration; the theory of art, education, ethics, logic, rhetoric, politics, jurisprudence, science of history, &c. Each one of these branches of knowledge professes to deliver

the laws and sequences of nature that bear upon a certain object or practical use, and to shew how any desired effect can be produced by the employment of adequate means. Principles adapted to practice are termed rules; the language employed being not so much 'Nature does so and so,' but do thou this, and that will follow. If an individual is affected with particular symptoms of disease the medical expounder prescribes the remedy, and no more, unless he consider it necessary to give evidence of the efficacy of such a remedy. The departments of ethics, politics, and jurisprudence are all founded on human nature, but none of their professors is called upon to give a systematic account of the whole of human nature: the more they know of man the better; but if they know only as much as serves their own turn, no man can blame them for deficiency.

The theoretical sciences are determined and arranged according to the different kinds of phenomena and events presented by nature. The properties of triangles, circles, and spheres, make a distinct species of information; the relations of numbers in arithmetic and algebra are also a class of things by themselves, although they come into very close relation with the other. The actions of moving bodies are not to be confounded with either of these. Gravitation is a distinct power in nature. It has been from no desire to multiply differences, or to find a greater variety of modes of action in the world than there really is, that a separate branch of knowledge has been constituted under the title of chemistry. So the laws of vitality involve a new phase of nature; and mind is a still higher development, and a more complex manifestation of creative energy. Theoretical philosophy recognises all these distinctions and varieties of working, and finds a separate place for each; and its divisions therefore correspond, not to the feelings, wants, conveniences, or ends of man, but to the realities of the world. Whoever would know creation as it really stands, and in the most orderly and compendious form that it is possible to conceive it, must eschew practical men and practical books, and betake himself to the theoretic cycle of philosophy: he will have to study in succession mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology, mind, and society.

It is equally evident, on the other hand, that the practical sciences are called into being by human wants, and are ordered and adapted accordingly. The existence of a science of surgery does not prove that there is in nature a peculiar and distinct class of actions called surgical; for in fact the forces at work in the processes of surgery belong to the theoretical department of physiology. The practical science of agriculture can include no natural causes but what are professed to be expounded in physical, chemical, or vital science. Politics, law, and jurisprudence relate themselves to the abstract sciences of mind and society. However much we may multiply branches of applied knowledge, we cannot multiply the powers of nature, nor those leading departments of theoretical philosophy which systematically embrace and expound them.

The accumulated experience of any one craft, profession, or branch of business, distinctly recorded in books for universal information, forms the literature and collective wisdom of that particular department; but it is not every such literary collection of practical maxims and detailed facts that deserves to be called philosophy or science. The Chinese, the Arabs, and other nations had very extensive medical literatures long before anything

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like a philosophical system of medicine existed in the world. A practical science cannot be formed except by the same methods and precautions as are requisite in a theoretical science. The principles of dyeing, bleaching, or of any other chemical manufacture, must be established by the identical processes of observation, experiment, and inductive comparison; and by the same precautions respecting the use of language; as have to be employed in the investigation of the general doctrines of chemistry. No less care and no fewer repetitions and verifications are called for to determine the cure of a disease than would serve to prove the grandest discovery in physiology or anatomy. All observations and experiments, and all general assertions, in any practical question, that are not conducted according to the highest rigour of scientific method, as exemplified by the best theoretical inquirers in their respective walks, are in general lost labour. Men may write on medicine, agriculture, ethics, or politics, without end, and establish nothing; just as an infinity of treatises have been produced on astronomy, physics, and mind, whose annihilation might make the world wiser, but could not deprive us of any valuable piece of knowledge.

The only thing that renders the investigation of practical science peculiar and distinct, is the fact that it may, at a certain stage of scientific advancement, be made to repose on theoretical philosophy; in other words, the accurately-ascertained laws of the theoretical departments may serve to predict the sequences in the practical departments. The chemical manufacturer may not require to take upon himself the whole labour of investigating the course of nature's operations in his craft, from the circumstance that theoretical chemistry and the general principles of chemical action have been so far advanced as to determine everything that he desires to know. So a practical science of education might be constructed with little trouble, and with the highest precision, if there existed a previous general science of human nature in a high state of perfection; but where the theoretical foundations of any branch of practice have not been securely laid, there is no alternative for the practical man but to execute a series of researches with all the rigour and precision of the most accomplished theoretical philosopher. If this is not done, there may be a body of maxims and doctrines relative to an art, and these may have a certain amount of probability, or be true in a good many instances, but there is no science, no body of principles, true in all instances and in all circumstances.

The difference between the scientific and unscientific experience and rules belonging to a profession is this: when all the conditions that enter into any one effect have been precisely ascertained, so that it is possible at all times and circumstances to produce that effect, the knowledge of the case is complete; no science can be truer than this. But when the conditions of an effect are not perfectly ascertained, when it cannot be stated what things to employ and what things to exclude, and in what quantities, in order to produce an end, the knowledge is imperfect, and in practice there will be a number of failures. For example, in calico-printing there are certain colours whose production is exactly understood, and can be reduced to general laws of chemistry; such is the formation of a prussian blue. But there are other colours where complex organic substances are

employed, and where the laws and conditions of the effects are not correctly ascertained for the workman's guidance, and hence there is a degree of chance and uncertainty in the result, which is very tantalising. Either the printer, for his own ends, or the chemist, for the ends of science in general and all that hangs on it, will require to institute experimental investigations to get out the precise link of cause and effect out of the complex stream of agencies that are at work, provided neither of the parties can meet the difficulty by the skilful application of some of the laws or threads of causation already ascertained among chemical phenomena.

PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE.

The notions included under theoretical and practical science do not exhaust all the meanings attached to the name 'philosophy.' There still remain a group of significations connected more immediately with human conduct than any that have been touched on in the two divisions above illustrated. As we have not extended the scope of practical science so far as to take in the direct and immediate guidance and pilotage of man's own life, we require still to make some observations on this department, with the view of shewing when and how the idea of philosophy is connected with it.

The immediate impulses, or prime movers of human action, are the natural instincts, passions, emotions, and energies of the human constitution. The likings and aversions, and all the potent stimulants that act on our frame, are the influences most easy and congenial to yield ourselves up to. The fact, however, is, that if we abandon ourselves at random to each prevailing impulse that seizes us—hunger, sleep, violent exercise, anger, sympathy—we shall soon terminate our existence in a wreck. Among the moving powers that act on us we must suppress some and regulate others; we permit one to have a larger sway than the rest, because it is safer and more useful, and because it helps to keep the others under. For example, the natural impulse of tenderness and warm attachment has been all over the world cultivated and strengthened to the highest possible pitch, because it is more grateful as a permanent stimulus, more compatible with human happiness and safety on the whole, and more capable of keeping dangerous passions under, than most other germs of human emotion. A particular form of the sentiment of manly pride has been sometimes chosen monarch of the passions for similar reasons; it being found capable of spreading a film of serene satisfaction over the life, and of maintaining a course of conduct safe for the individual and not hurtful to others. It is easy to conceive what would be the upshot if a like predominance were given to the fitful appetites of hunger and sex, to the passion of resentment, or even to the more paltry but very fascinating love of sporting excitement.

To play off one strong impulse against all the rest, and to strengthen it by exercise and by consecration, has been essential to the existence of every tribe of human beings that ever held together; but this, though a highly conservative device and a great step in advance, can hardly be said to be philosophy. The nations of the civilised modern world, and many sects among the ancients, have recognised as the supreme guiding force of

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human nature what is called 'conscience,' or the knowledge of what is right, coupled with the incitement to act up to it. If this so-called conscience be instinctive in its suggestions, a life conducted under its guidance may be highly correct and virtuous, but it does not give occasion to the appellation of a philosophy, being perhaps all the happier for not deserving the name.

Philosophical life-guidance comes into play when the suggestions of the instincts and sentiments, one and all, are either set aside or fail to give the needful direction, and when the intellect of man brings into the field the same powers of investigation as have been successful in building up the theoretical and practical sciences, and by the application of those powers devises a scheme of human life such as to give to each impulse a measured scope consistent with the highest good of the whole. It is the intervention of the philosophising intelligence that makes life philosophical. If a man trained in the scientific study of some department of nature or mind applies his faculties to the study of the course of human life, with the view of avoiding, as far as possible, its ills, and multiplying what is good in it, and if he arrives at general principles appealing to the intelligence of others, and in all respects similar to the principles of physics, of mind, of jurisprudence, or of logic, he is a philosopher of life, and his listeners, and all who act upon his principles, may be distinguished by the same honourable appellation. When we depart from the primitive device of choosing a king passion, and introduce the speculative and scientific intelligence into the conduct of our lives, we make a step exactly identical with the interposition of scientific laws and scientific reasonings into agriculture, navigation, or the administration of justice. The first attempts at such a method may be abortive and bad, like the first theories of the heavenly bodies, or of the phenomena of life; moreover, inferences made in this way may be less safe than the suggestions of the king passion, but nevertheless the attempts themselves are commendable.

The earliest approach to this kind of philosophy is found in the prudential and wise maxims, sayings, and proverbs current among all nations; exercises of the observing and generalising intellect no doubt, but so imperfectly executed that they can no more be called science than the primitive literature of the medical, or any other difficult art, can be so called. The intellect at work in their case has not been the intellect trained and skilled, and made aware of the necessity of looking at what is not before the common eye.

Systems of life deserving of the name of philosophy come into view about the same period as systems of the world. As we designate by this term the cosmical speculations of the greatest Greek intellects from the sixth century before Christ, so we find among the same individual minds the first efforts to array the march of human life according to methods devised by the exercise of abstract intelligence; and such methods, either promulgated in naked theory or reduced to practice, we call philosophies of life. The notion of a *summun bonum*, or maximum of happiness always implies an attempt at the scientific consideration of the question of life. We shall endeavour to illustrate this part of the subject by a brief allusion to some of the most noted systems of life that have been held up as of the philosophical kind.

The epoch of Socrates marks the commencement of various branches of philosophy, and among others the department of life-philosophy; and posterior to his date we shall find genuine examples presented both in the speculative and practical world.

The *Cynics*.—The Cynic philosophy, which was essentially practical in the sense of being related to the conduct of life, was originated by one of the followers of Socrates, named Antisthenes. The character of the sect is, however, more popularly judged of by the anecdotes told of its most prominent member, commonly called Diogenes the Cynic. The great idea of the founder consisted in laying down the broad principle, that virtue was self-sufficient for conferring happiness, to the exclusion of the sensual delights and bodily gratifications. But by virtue, in the mouth of a pupil of Socrates, must be understood not merely rectitude of conduct in the whole of the relations of life, but also the pursuit of knowledge and philosophy, or the active employment of the intellect in its proper sphere. In fact the pleasures of intellect were to be substituted for the pleasures of sense, and the indulgences of the body suppressed in order to support the wear and tear of a life of mental occupation.

Diogenes, the practical Cynic, is represented as ostentatiously despising all the comforts and pleasures of common life, and deriving satisfaction from the inward feelings of pride and the sense of superiority to his fellows; which satisfaction was still further enhanced by the luxurious exercise of jeering at the weaknesses of everybody around him. Such a man could easily rise superior to all worldly disadvantages and risks, and effectually clear his mind of anxieties for the future. Subsisting upon small means, he could treat himself to a life of ease, and in this particular rival the proudest sons of fortune. We are by no means to look upon such a man as one wilfully depriving himself of the delights of existence, and turning his back on the bounties of nature. In fact, he uses an independent judgment in choosing his own pleasures, instead of following the herd, or living as his father did before him. With a natural constitution not very susceptible to the delights of warmth and repletion, full of pride and egotism, and delighting in the sport of uttering sarcasms, such a man would find the Cynic life exactly suited to his dispositions; and, except in the point of sneering at others, he would be fully entitled to make it his choice.

The Cynic system of life, although not very remarkable for its originality, or its difference from the unconscious creed of a limited class of men in all ages, was so far a philosophical system that it resulted from the speculative turn given by Socrates to ethical inquiries. It was his practice to insist on obtaining a true abstract definition of all the leading notions involved in human conduct, in place of the vague associations attached to them in the popular mind. He made a constant practice of investigating 'What is piety? What is impiety? What is the honourable and the base?'—and other similar questions. Men who knew these matters he accounted good and honourable; men who were ignorant of them he assimilated to slaves.

When Socrates thus commenced to insist on a rigorous analysis of the conceptions of human conduct, and on reducing them to verbal definitions that would each include a class of cases strictly of a kind, and exclude all that were not of the kind, although liable to be accounted such by the

fallaciousness of superficial appearances, he rendered the study of human duties and the art of living for the first time philosophical; and the doctrinal Cynicism of Antisthenes was one of the results of the system. The natural connection, however, is not so evident as in the subsequent systems.

The *Stoics*.—Zeno, the founder of the Stoical sect, was more than a century posterior to Socrates. * The general temper of Stoicism is allied to the Cynical system, but carried out into a far greater doctrinal development. The Stoic had calmly surveyed human nature, human life, and man's position in the universe, and derived from thence a series of considerations and rules suitable to his guidance under all circumstances. Setting out from the assumption that self-love and the highest good of existence were the great ultimate motives of action, an enumeration was made of the objects of choice and of the objects of rejection and avoidance. • These objects of choice and preference had a gradation of worth or an order of precedence: not only was health preferable to strength, and good name to power, but the interest of the many was greater than the interest of the few; hence we ourselves being but units of the human race, and mere atoms in the grand machine of Providence, our personal likings must give way to the good of the race or the purposes of creation at large. To this view the Stoic added a profound belief in the perfect government of the world, and in everything being for the best; and enjoined an entire submission of spirit to all the events of life. To make this submission total and complete, it was desirable to cultivate a temper of rigid indifference to good and evil—a disposition not elated by good fortune nor depressed by adversity: this formed the *apatheia* or *scang froid* which was the point of practical discipline or moral restraint peculiar to the Stoical system.

Although the greatest good of being in general was a higher interest than the good of any individual man, yet it was in every one's option to consider his whole position in life as an object of rejection, and to reject it accordingly; that is, embrace a voluntary death. At no time, however, was this extreme measure common among the members of the sect.

It is never to be forgotten that in the times when this philosophy prevailed, there was little security for the permanency of any individual's lot; and that in men's calculations for the future, the chances of the worst evils that could befall their temporal condition had to be contemplated. These contingencies give a meaning and a significance to the Stoical cultivation of an apathetic temper, such as could preserve the mind unmoved in the most trying moments of life.

The contemplation of the scheme and order and beneficence of the universe was prescribed as the habitual exercise of the Stoical intellect; both to give that occupation for the rational faculties of men, which no Greek system ever omitted, and to cultivate the requisite submission to the decrees of Providence. Instead of permitting the thoughts to be engrossed with the vulgar interests of life, they were to be continually dwelling on philosophical truth, and on the large speculations and doctrines comprehending the universe and its Creator.

Stoicism was therefore, in its whole method and aim, a true example of a life philosophy.

The *Epicureans*.—Epicurus, the contemporary of Zeno, has given his

name to a system of life likewise derived from philosophical reasonings, and starting from an analysis and enumeration of the primary objects of desire, but differing from the other in several essential particulars. Both systems recognise human wellbeing as the end of living; but Epicurus, by taking a peculiar view of the elements of happiness, was led into conclusions widely different from the Stoical maxims. His examination of the human constitution led him to affirm that all pleasures and pains whatsoever took their rise in the body, and consequently that any species of enjoyment was but a form of bodily gratification. The pleasures of the mind were but reminiscences or anticipations of the pleasures of the body, and formed a peculiar class of those pleasures, distinguished by their greater extent and permanence, or by covering, as it were, a larger surface of life. Hence an actual bodily sensation, pleasurable or painful, was itself nothing in comparison of those recollections and hopes that made up the great bulk of human consciousness. The business of life consisted in choosing the least evils and the greatest good; which would imply the avoiding of such pleasures and the courting of such ills as were indispensable to the permanent good condition of the bodily consciousness. 'Ease of body and security or tranquillity of mind constituted the most perfect state of human nature, the most complete happiness which man was capable of enjoying.' The cardinal virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice were not desirable on their own account—they were but means of contributing to this flow of serene and tranquil existence. Religious terrors, so incompatible with this end, were to be surmounted by adopting a correct view of the machinery of the universe; and the system of Epicurus was the *atomic theory* started by the philosopher Democritus, which excluded an intelligent Creator, and supposed the world brought into its present shape by the conflux of a vast body of primeval atoms possessed of the properties and powers requisite to enable them to fill their places in the great machine.

Epicurus, therefore, was peculiar in his analysis of human nature, and differed from the Stoics and from other philosophers also in this—that they considered virtue desirable on its own account, and that 'man being born for action, his happiness must consist not merely in the agreeableness of his passive sensations, but also in the propriety of his active exertions.'

EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE WITH JAPAN.

THE Japanese group occupies on the eastern side of Asia a position in many respects analogous to that of Great Britain with respect to the European continent. It extends from the 31st to the 42d degree of north latitude, and from the 157th to the 175th degree of east longitude; or, in other words, lies in the very heart of the temperate zone. In conformity, however, with a natural law not easy to be explained, its climate is far more rigorous than that of countries lying farther west at the same distance from the equator. The same remark indeed applies to the eastern edge of all known continents, which has been found to be much colder than that lying towards the west.

The empire of Japan is composed of three main islands with innumerable smaller ones, which, studding the sea along its coasts, render navigation difficult, and in some measure, therefore, defend it from the sudden attacks of foreigners. Some protection also is derived from the rough and boisterous character of the sea itself, which, vexed by storms and beset with sunken rocks and shallows, suggests the idea of extreme danger to mariners, especially since the period at which, by an inhospitable decree of the government, strangers from all parts of the world were forbidden to touch upon its shores. Its external aspect is bleak and forbidding. In some places precipitous cliffs rise frowning from the water to a great height; while elsewhere chains of mountains, seemingly smitten with eternal barrenness, suggest the idea of a hungry, desolate, and repulsive region.

On a nearer approach it is discovered that whatever may be the qualities of the soil, the Japanese are not a people to abandon it to nature. With industry and pains incredible they cultivate the face of the most rugged seaward mountains, carrying up their fields and plantations terrace above terrace to their summits, and thus extorting subsistence from districts the least susceptible of improvement. Many attribute their persevering energy to the pressure of extreme poverty, which renders incessant toil necessary; but it is far more natural to believe that the Japanese are constitutionally energetic, and that to them, as to their neighbours the Chinese, active employment is a sort of necessity.

Though still so little known to the populations of the West, the existence of the Japanese islands was revealed to Europe towards the close of the thirteenth century by the great Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who left his native country in the year 1275, and after traversing Western Asia and

the great steppes and deserts of Mongolia, entered China, where he rose to extraordinary eminence in the service of Kublai Khan. This conqueror, learning the existence of numerous large islands in the ocean contiguous to the Chinese shores, fitted out a powerful armament to reduce them to obedience; but his armada was unsuccessful: storms overtook the Mongol fleet, the natives also displayed heroic courage and resolution, and the lord of the Celestial Empire experienced the mortification of witnessing the failure of his designs. With this triumph, however, Zypangu, or Japan, fell back into its original obscurity, and for nearly three centuries was heard of no more.

At length the Portuguese, acting as the pioneers of European civilisation, brought back once more into the light the great islands of Japan, destined to play thenceforward a singular part in the history of the world. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, whose imagination converted trivial adventures and actual experience into a romance, was driven by a storm on the coast of Bungo in the year 1542. There appears to be no good reason for doubting the fact or the date, though many of the circumstances, which grave historians have borrowed from the narrative of Pinto, would appear to belong to the mythical portion of Portuguese annals. We shall accordingly abstain from dwelling on them; especially as, if true, they could scarcely be said to throw any peculiar light on the intercourse of western nations with the Japanese.

In that age the discovery of a new country was regarded by the Roman Catholic Church, and more particularly by the Jesuits, almost entirely as an occasion for courting the honours of martyrdom. This at least was the fate to which the zeal of the ecclesiastical adventurers often led them. Viewing what they did from the philosophical level of the nineteenth century, we are apt to imagine them to have been actuated by political motives, particularly when we call to mind the answer made by a Spaniard to some Japanese officers, to whom, in the hope of producing an effect on their imagination, he had pointed out the extent of his master's dominions on a map of the globe. 'How is it that your king,' inquired the Japanese, 'has managed to possess himself of half the world?' 'He commences by sending priests,' replied the Spaniard, 'who win over the people; and when this is done, his troops are despatched to join the native Christians, and the conquest is easy and complete.'

Under the guidance of whatever ideas they acted, the priests and friars of that age were no sooner made acquainted with the discovery of Japan than they longed to be engaged there in the work of conversion. St Francis Xavier, called by his church the Apostle of the Indies, set out from Goa, according to some, in the year 1547, and arriving in the empire, was received with great marks of favour by the native princes. With a facility which must astonish the missionaries of these days, he made numerous converts, erected many churches, and laid the foundations of a system which promised, had it not been accidentally arrested, to bring the whole Japanese nation within the pale of the Romish Church. What renders the triumphs of those Jesuits more surprising, is the way in which, according to their own shewing, they went to work. Having found, or formed, a few interpreters, they wrote their sermons in some European language, and having caused them to be translated into Japanese, and

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written out fairly in Roman characters, delivered them to the congregations, without themselves understanding a syllable of what they read. The effect may be conjectured. Hearing their language pronounced as strangers usually pronounce a foreign tongue, the Japanese were convulsed with laughter at the good fathers, and often, perhaps, professed to accept their doctrines in order to console them for having laughed at their eloquence.

It forms no part of our present object minutely to trace the history of Christianity in Japan, the progress of which, according to Catholic historians, was furthered by the working of innumerable miracles. Considered simply in itself, the success of the missionaries was sufficiently astonishing. Multitudes perpetually came over to their creed, including several princes, and numbers of the most wealthy and influential nobles of the land; Jesuits and monks of all other orders poured into the country in a constantly expanding stream; native priests were multiplied; and these, with a zeal found frequently among new converts, spread themselves over the face of the country, animated by the most ardent desire to overthrow the temples of their forefathers, and give currency to the new faith. Buddhists and Shintoists, priests and bonzes, succumbed before their impetuous energy, until the Christians amounted to a million in number, and were found in every grade of society from the throne downwards. It was at one time believed that the emperor himself had deserted the ancient shrines of idolatry, and listened with approval to the doctrines of the new religion.

But in the history of the Romish Church it has often happened that an immoderate and ill-timed zeal has destroyed in a moment the work of years. Proverbially patient upon the whole, ecclesiastics sometimes suffer themselves to be transported by passion far beyond the limits of sound policy, accept their own wishes for proofs, and mistake doubtful phenomena for undeniable facts. It sometimes happens also, that pious men are tainted with pride, temporal as well as spiritual, and in sudden and overpowering accessions of this feeling are betrayed into errors ininnal if not fatal to their views. This at least was the case in Japan, where bishops and other church dignitaries, in conformity with their established system of looking down with a certain degree of contempt upon the laity, roused the indignation of the unconverted nobles, who began seriously to apprehend that their humble foreign teachers might in the end prove to be their masters if care were not taken to check their encroachments at once.

The anger and resentment of the old nobility were brought to a climax by an incident that occurred on the road of Yedo. It is customary in Japan for princes, and governors of provinces, when departing for any distant portion of the empire, to leave behind them as hostages their wives and children in the metropolis. Ostensibly for the purpose of visiting them, though really in obedience to other maxims of policy, they are expected to make annual visits to the court; and on these occasions it is customary for all persons of inferior rank, clergy or laity, natives or strangers, to descend from their palanquins in token of respect, or, if on foot, to shew their reverence by certain forms of obeisance. One of these *grandees* returning from his distant government, was encountered by a Romish bishop, who, instead of conforming to the fashion of the country, ordered his bearers to pass by with disdainful indifference. Disgusted

by this display of prelatical pride, the prince, who possessed numerous friends at court, laid a complaint before the emperor; and at the same time succeeded in alarming the aristocracy of the country, whose kindly feelings had been already alienated by the pompous insolence and cupidity of the foreign clergy.

Something more, however, was wanting to kindle the fires of persecution against Catholicism. The spark was supplied by the reply, already quoted, of the Spaniard, who is said to have been enticed into the country on his way from Mexico to the Philippines. Taico, at that time emperor, when the Castilian's misguarded avowal was reported to him, exclaimed: 'What then! are my dominions filled with traitors?' The seeds of distrust once sown were nourished by various circumstances. The bonzes had always of course been hostile to the foreign clergy, whose superior influence and learning they naturally beheld with envy. The pride of the good fathers by degrees alienated from them even those among the nobles who had been once their friends; and therefore, when Taico's apprehensions had been excited, there was none found to stand in the breach between his indignation and those who were destined to become the victims of it. In the first outbreak of imperial vengeance twenty-six priests obtained the honours of martyrdom, and to the thoughtful and far-seeing a cloud became visible in the horizon which perpetually grew more lurid and threatening. To repress, however, not to extirpate Christianity, seems to have been at first all that was contemplated by the policy of the court. Its followers were now sufficiently numerous to excite alarm in the minds of its adversaries, who could scarcely hope to triumph over it without encountering the risks and horrors of a civil war.

While things were in this situation a new and unexpected event occurred to complicate the difficulties of Catholicism in Japan. The Dutch, who had long beheld with envy the golden harvest reaped by the Portuguese in the further East, determined, towards the close of the sixteenth century, to enter upon and dispute the field with them. Up till that moment the gains of the first discoverers would appear to have been so great as to be almost incredible. Japan abounds with the precious metals; and the Portuguese, whose cupidity was at least equal to their superstition, swept, as it were, with a drag-net all the gold they could collect into their galleons, and transported it to Macao—the creation and emporium of the riches they acquired in Japan. One ship alone is said to have carried 300 tons' weight of gold from Japan to their new settlement in China.

No wonder, therefore, that the Dutch, who have never been wanting in their respect for mammon, should have determined to dispute this rich prize with their rivals. About the year 1598 they fitted out an expedition consisting of several vessels, and sent it out by way of Magellan Straits and the Pacific towards the utopia of their commercial and political ambition. On board of one of these ships was William Adams, of Gillingham, in Kent, who had been a master in the navy in the service of Queen Elizabeth, but had been allured by tempting offers to direct the enterprise of our phlegmatic neighbours. One vessel alone of this expedition reached Japan, on whose shores it was wrecked apparently about the year 1600, with William Adams on board.

Within the last few years the name of this old navigator has acquired

some degree of celebrity. The writer of the present Paper, wishing to discover whether any trace of his family or any remembrance of his name still lingered in his native place, went down two or three summers ago to Gillingham. Its little old church is prettily situated, and its churchyard filled with tombs, headstones, and grassy graves; among which, in company with a friend, he searched for several hours, without, however, finding the spot in which the remains of Elizabeth, the wife of Adams, rest in peace. Within the church also his investigations were fruitless, as well as in the town itself. He afterwards learned, however, that there was a Mr Adams among the ropemakers in Chatham Dockyard, but, during his stay of nearly a week, was unable to meet with him. Recently, through his friend Mr Cole, well known for his collection of rare autographs and for his acquirements as an antiquarian, he applied to the Rev. Mr Page, vicar of Gillingham, who having obligingly examined the parish register, replied as follows: 'In answer to your inquiry received this morning, I have to state that I have searched our parish register, where I find the name of "William Adams, son of John Adams, baptised the 24th day of September 1564," which I presume is the person in question. I have examined also the marriages from 1584 to 1624, but find none of William Adams, nor in the baptisms any trace of his children. It is probable that he might have been married in his wife's parish. There seems to have been one Henry Adams, who had several children.'

If the above William Adams be assumed to be the same as the navigator, he was thirty-six years old when he landed in Japan. We shall let the adventurer himself tell how he arrived, and what his first treatment was. Great sickness had visited the ship, so that, when it reached the group, 'there were no more than six besides myself that could stand upon his feet. So we in safety let fall our anchor about a league from a place called Bungo. At which time came to us many boats, and we suffered them to come aboard, being not able to resist them, neither of us understanding the one the other. Within a two or three daies after our arrivall ther came a Jesuit from a place called Langasacke, to which place the caracke of Amakan is yearly wont to come, which, with other Japonas that were Christians, were our interpreters, which was not to our good, they being our mortal enemies. Nevertheless, the king of Bungo, the place where we arrived, shewed us great friendship, for he gave us a house on land, where we landed our sick men, and had all refreshing that was needfull. We had when we came to anchor in Bungo, sicke and whole, foure-and-twentie men, of which number the next day three died. The rest for the most part recovered, saving three, which lay a long time sicke, and in the end also died. In the which time of our being here the emperor hearing of us, sent presently five gallies or frigates to us to bring me to the court, where his highness was, which was distant from Bungo about an eightie English leagues; so that as soon as I came before him he demanded of me of what country we were; so I answered him in all points, for there was nothing that he demanded not, both concerning war and peace betweene country and country, so that the particulars here to write would be too tedious. And for that time I was commaunded to prison, being well used with one of our mariners that came to serve me.' This was in consequence of the representations of the Spaniards and Portuguese,

who described the English and Dutch as mere pirates, possessing no country of their own, but subsisting by plunder on the high seas. Adams, however, soon proved himself to be a man of great ingenuity and resources; and by building vessels for the emperor after the English model, so raised himself in his favour that he was soon enabled to turn the tables on his accusers, and it may very reasonably be supposed, to have contributed largely to their expulsion from the country.

At this period, which may be regarded as one of transition from the old system of free trade to the new one of rigid exclusion, the commerce of Japan was very considerable, extending to nearly all the countries lying east of the Straits of Malacca. It was carried on in junks resembling those of the Chinese, with sails woven like mats from the leaves of trees, which, when they required to be furled, were folded up in the manner of a fan; the hull was built with cedar, and of a far stronger construction than that of the junks found there since navigation to foreign countries has been prohibited. Some idea may be formed of the numbers of the Japanese who addicted themselves to a seafaring life from what occurred at that time in the Philippines, particularly at Manilla, to which they brought iron, flour, brawn, and various other kinds of provisions. The Spaniards, though eager for the profits of the trade, held the traders themselves in suspicion, partly on account of their numerical strength, and partly for their warlike character. For this reason, though the city was surrounded by a strong stone wall, the inhabitants deemed it prudent to build a second within the former, behind which they might retire in case of attack. A Japanese junk seen by the Dutch on the coast of the Philippines, calculated to be about 110 tons' burden, was laden with iron, flour, and hams. It had been twenty days in coming from Japan, which it had left in company with two other junks. Its sails were, as above described, of reeds and matting, its anchors of wood, and its cables of straw.

In these comparatively frail embarkations they traded to Cochin-China, Champa, Cambodia, Siam, and Patani on the eastern coast of the Malay peninsula, everywhere impressing the natives with a high idea of their enterprising and warlike disposition. There is some obscurity in the accounts transmitted to us of the commodities they collected in these various countries; but we find they obtained from Cochin-China wood of aloes, which they were in the habit of burning constantly as a perfume, and cast large quantities on the funeral piles of the great and opulent. This wood was brought down by the rivers from the unknown countries of the interior. From Champa they obtained the precious gun denominated calambac, regarded throughout the East as the finest of perfumes; and from Siam and Patani shagreen, the skin of a species of squalus, with which, like the Europeans, they made sheaths for their weapons, mathematical instruments, &c. From the latter countries they also obtained immense numbers of wild white goat-skins, on which they designed numerous curious and fantastic figures with the smoke of rice-straw, which they understood the art of fixing. With these they manufactured various garments, and the Spaniards of the Philippines procured them for the making of tippets.

The specie they made use of in this trade consisted of small copper coins with holes in the middle, which were strung together by hundreds and by

thousands for the convenience of counting. With these they likewise carried on a trade with two islands called Zin and Quin, the inhabitants of which, though not more than twenty-five leagues from the Chinese coast, were then said to have no clothing, but extremely handsome and well-formed. Here they obtained abundance of deer-skins and honey.

Such is a very imperfect sketch of the foreign trade of Japan at the time when the first Englishman landed in the country. As we have already observed, Adams rose into great favour with the emperor, who bestowed on him several fine estates, which enabled him to support the rank and live in the style of a nobleman. But this by no means reconciled him to his destiny. Most men are inextricably bound by their early associations, which will not suffer them to be happy save where they can be surrounded by those circumstances with which they have from childhood been familiar. In the midst of splendour and court-favour, Adams sighed for his cottage at Gillingham, for the society of his wife Elizabeth and his two boys, of whose fate he probably remained like ourselves, completely ignorant. In vain he petitioned for leave to return home. Despots have no sympathy. But as Adams persisted in his importunity, he was at length informed that though he could not be allowed to leave Japan, he might invite his countrymen thither, with the understanding that they should be permitted to trade on the most advantageous footing.

The difficulty now was to communicate with Europe, or with any Europeans who might be scattered over the China seas. The Portuguese and Spaniards were too inimical to his designs to afford him any assistance. It must therefore have been through the instrumentality of a native junk that he forwarded his first letter addressed to any English and Dutch merchants into whose hands it might fall. This missive seems to have wandered ineffectually through the Indian Archipelago for the space of three years, after which it fell into the hands of some adventurous Hollanders, who, availing themselves of the invitation of Adams, repaired to Japan—according to some in the year 1609, though others place the date of their arrival two years later.

Meanwhile an event had occurred which tended more perhaps than any other to widen the breach already existing between the Japanese government and the Portuguese. In the year 1608 a Japanese junk had been despatched to Chainpa, to renew or enlarge commercial relations with that country, as well as to obtain a quantity of the precious wood or gun calambac; and having accomplished its mission, and taken on board an ambassador from the king to the cubo-sama, or emperor, was returning towards Japan, when calms and contrary winds forced it into the port of Macao. Here, with that contempt of time common to all Orientals, its crew determined to pass the winter. Other junks, filled with their own countrymen, arriving shortly after, they began to be encouraged, by seeing themselves in great force, to commit excesses, and treat the Portuguese inhabitants with contempt and violence. Some even go so far as to suppose that they had formed the design of seizing on the place, though whether with the view of delivering it up to their government or of establishing themselves there in wild independence is not stated. Probably the idea was never entertained, though there were circumstances, it must be acknowledged, which at the time at least appeared to favour the suspicion.

Brawls, scuffles, and severe contests had frequently taken place in the streets, when at length matters assumed one day so serious an aspect that Andras Pessoa, the governor, was under the necessity of employing a large body of troops against the foreigners. The Japanese fought with great bravery, but being at length overcome by numbers, they separated into two bodies, and retreating leisurely, took refuge in two large houses, where they barricaded themselves, and exhibited a disposition to fight to the last extremity. Summoned again and again to surrender, they resolutely refused, till the governor, finding all other means unavailing, threatened to set fire to the houses. Upon this numbers threw down their arms and were made prisoners. Among these it happened, unfortunately, that there was one individual who during the disturbances was said to have been guilty of robbery. This man having been conducted to prison, was there strangled; and the fact coming to the knowledge of the besieged, determined them to hold out to the last. Pessoa now resolved to put his menace into execution, and set on fire one of the houses, upon which the Japanese, endeavouring to make their escape, were shot down to a man. In this way twenty-seven persons perished. The party that had taken refuge in the other house now surrendered at discretion, and Macao was restored to tranquillity.

It may serve to throw some light on the ideas which prevailed among the men of those times, to describe the course immediately afterwards pursued by the governor of Macao. Drawing up a statement of what had taken place—coloured, it may be presumed, to suit his own views, but supported by the testimony of the Japanese then at Macao—he forwarded it to Nangasaki, evidently in the full belief that it would prove satisfactory at the court of Yedo. But the Japanese who had survived the massacre at Macao held one language while in the hands of their captors and another when they reached home. They entirely contradicted Pessoa's statement, and made it appear to the emperor that the Portuguese had throughout been the delinquents. That they also exaggerated and misrepresented the affair there can be no doubt; but their narrative would appear to approach much nearer the truth than that of their adversaries.

Nothing daunted by what had occurred, Pessoa next year conducted to Nangasaki the large galleon which the Portuguese were in the habit of despatching annually from Macao. During the two preceding years fear of the Dutch, whom they regarded as pirates, had interrupted their commerce with Japan, which rendered the present adventure trebly valuable. On his arrival, Pessoa presented a copy of his statement to the governor of Nangasaki, and wished likewise to forward another to the imperial court, but from taking this step he unfortunately suffered himself to be dissuaded. Misunderstandings very soon arose on the subject of trade—partly perhaps owing to the overreaching character of the Portuguese, but partly also, no doubt, on account of the massacre at Macao, the memory of which could not fail to rankle in the minds of the Japanese.

It would now be impossible to decide by what motives the governor of Nangasaki was induced to adopt suddenly a different course of policy from that which he at first appeared inclined to pursue. The probability is, that learning it was Pessoa's intention to proceed to the emperor's court at once to exculpate his nation from the charge of treachery and to prefer

complaints against himself, he was changed by this ingratitude from a friend into an enemy. Certain it is that he incited the king of Arima, one of the petty princes of the empire, to employ his utmost influence with the government for the purpose of bringing about Pessoa's destruction. At first the cubo-sama displayed considerable irresolution. He may possibly have been reluctant to cut off a stranger who, confiding in his justice and generosity, had voluntarily placed himself at his mercy; or he may not have been altogether without apprehensions that the Portuguese, of whose real power he was ignorant, might in revenge invade and desolate his country. Ultimately, whatever his scruples may have been, they gave way, and the king of Arima was despatched to take vengeance on Pessoa.

We are apt in all things, small or great, to imagine the presence of a Nemesis in human affairs, which sometimes hurries men into rashness and recklessness, sometimes betrays them into inexplicable delays, which involve them in calamity and ruin. Historians have accounted in this way for the annihilation of the Athenian army and fleet before Syracuse, where respect for the superstition of the times detained the generals until departure had become impossible. On a small scale, circumstances somewhat analogous prevented the escape of the Portuguese from Nagasaki. The idolatry in this case was that of gold, out of reverence for which numbers of Pessoa's countrymen remained on shore till the last moment, eager to carry away with them the greatest possible amount of wealth. In other conjunctures the commander had proved himself a man of energy and decision; but on this occasion, instead of prudently providing for his own safety and that of his friends, he lingered hour after hour to afford the worshippers of gain an opportunity of gratifying their passion before repairing finally on board. Meanwhile the wind had died away, and the ship lay like a log immovable upon the waters.

It was now the month of January 1610, when the king of Arima, with thirty small junks, arrived at Nagasaki to avenge on the Portuguese the massacre of Macao. He selected the night for his attack, and approaching the galleon, opened upon it, while yet at a considerable distance, a smart fire of musketry. As if no way concerned in this hubbub, the Portuguese remained quiet, neither mustering on the deck nor answering the fire of the enemy, who became emboldened to approach nearer. Pessoa now ordered five guns to be discharged, every one of which telling with tremendous effect upon the junks, immediately put the whole fleet to the right-about, and sent it scudding pell-mell towards the shore. A courier was immediately despatched to Surunga, where the court then was, to announce the defeat of the king of Arima, and the escape of Pessoa, which so enraged the emperor that he issued an order to massacre every Portuguese in the country, including the missionaries and the bishops. How far this decree was executed does not appear, but it was based on false intelligence; as, though the king of Arima had undoubtedly been repulsed, the Portuguese ship, through lack of wind, still remained within the reach of vengeance.

Fear perhaps makes as many heroes as courage. Knowing that he would have, in case of failure, to rip open his own bowels, the king of Arima judged it more agreeable to practise on those of Pessoa and his comrades. A slight breeze having sprung up, which seemed to promise them a chance of escape, they had hoisted all sail, and endeavoured to put

out to sea, but were soon becalmed again, and this time, as ill-luck would have it, in a narrow strait, where in various ways the enemy would have the advantage over them. The reader who happens to be familiar with the wars of the Macedonians and Romans will remember the strange apparatus of floating and moving towers made use of in those days for the destruction of human kind. The king of Arima, without being a student of ancient tactics, hit nevertheless upon a device practised frequently by antiquity. Uniting two strong boats by a platform, he erected on it a lofty wooden tower, protected on all sides by the skins of animals freshly slain, and furnished at the top with battlements, from behind which his troops could keep up a perpetual fire against the Portuguese. This he pushed towards Pessoa's ship, now immovable, as we have said, in a narrow channel. The slaughter was prodigious, yet Pessoa and his remaining crew continued to fight gallantly, till they discovered the stern of their ship to be on fire; then ordering the powder-magazine to be exploded, and taking a crucifix in his hand, he leaped into the sea, inviting all his followers to do the same. The galleon, which was laden with enormous riches, soon afterwards went down, to the extreme disgust of the Japanese, who now shot without mercy all who were endeavouring to effect their escape by swimming, till every man had been destroyed.

After this it would be reasonable to expect that all intercourse between the Portuguese and the people of Japan would have been at an end. But commercial nations do not easily relinquish any great source of gain. The merchants and Jesuits at Macao, uniting with those still remaining in the islands—for the edict of extermination had never of course been carried out—easily pacified the court of Surunga. The Portuguese indeed pretend that the cubo-sama himself, greatly regretting what he had done, despatched a missive to the Jesuits, entreating them to deprecate the anger of Portugal. But this seems to be one of the myths invented by the good fathers on behalf of their own reputation, which suffered very greatly in Japan as well as in China. The truth appears to be, that the Portuguese humbly sought and obtained permission to proceed with the Japanese trade as if nothing had happened.

But when the seeds of mutual hatred and distrust have been sown between two nations, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to prevent their growing and bearing fruit. All real confidence had now been destroyed. Each party felt itself as if stained with the blood of the other, and the spirit of revenge, though outwardly disclaimed, operated only the more powerfully within. Opportunities of retaliation were diligently sought, though from the commencement it ought to have been very clear in what way the struggle must terminate. The Portuguese, though they had largely intermarried with the natives, were not sufficiently numerous or powerful in the country to hope for decisive victory in the open field, and therefore, it cannot be doubted, betook themselves, in conjunction with the native Christians, to the way of plots and conspiracies, dangerous in all countries, but doubly so in those in which religious differences inspire political antagonists with the zeal and perseverance of martyrs.

Such was the situation of the Portuguese when, at the invitation of William Adams, the Dutch made their appearance in Japan. That their

advent was accompanied by intriguing and meanness, as affirmed by the Catholic historians, we are not prepared to deny, as especially the whole of their subsequent career in Japan has been marked by the same vices. We cannot feel greatly surprised, therefore, that their coming should not have satisfied Adams, who addressed a second letter to the English merchants in the East, entreating them to repair to Japan, and promising them a favourable reception by the emperor.

It happened, in the year 1608, that an Englishman named John Saris resided as the chief of our factory at Bantam. Whether or not Adams's first letter fell into his hands we have now no means of ascertaining; but on his return, during the following year, to England, he induced several British merchants to send out a ship to Japan, and by way of authorisation, obtained letters from James I. to the emperor. We can now scarcely comprehend the slowness of navigators in those days; but Saris did not reach the Archipelago till 1612, when he got possession of Adams's second letter, and determined on proceeding directly to Firando. Nangasaki, the capabilities of which as a port had been discovered by the genius of the Portuguese, seems to have been then given up entirely to the trade with that nation, which, in spite of its countless crimes of ambition, displayed everywhere in the East the most extraordinary aptitude for trade, enterprise, and civilisation. When the English arrived at the heels of the Dutch in Japan, it would have been impossible for the most far-seeing individual to predict what would be the fortunes of the two nations in that and the neighbouring parts of Asia. Our countrymen were well received; Saris paid a visit to the emperor's court; a factory was established at Firando, of which Captain Richard Cocks became the principal director, while the second place only, apparently with a small salary, was given to William Adams.

It may seem at first sight rather difficult to comprehend how a man who had been promoted to high honour among the nobles of the country could consent to accept so humble a position. But when we consider the great object he had in view—namely, that of effecting his escape, and returning to his wife and children at Gillingham—we at once discover a key to his proceedings. He evidently hoped to get so mixed up with the directors and concerns of the factory that he would by degrees be lost sight of by the court, which might likewise accustom itself to do without him, and in the end contrive to get on board some English vessel, and make his way home. This cherished project of his life Adams was never able to accomplish. Once he appeared, poor fellow, to be on the eve of complete success, for having been sent in command of a large ship to Siam, the probability presented itself of escaping from the crew. But they having received orders to bring him back alive or dead, and believing that if they suffered him to elude their vigilance they might have to pay the penalty with their heads, or rather with their bowels, watched his movements far too closely to render it practicable for him to effect his purpose. In Japan, therefore, he lived, and in Japan he died, a sort of humble Ulysses, longing perpetually to behold the smoke ascending from his own hearth. The slight memorials we have left us of him interest us much in his fate, and it is greatly to be regretted that the idea did not occur to him of how interesting it would be to the world to obtain a complete account of his captivity.

When Captain Saris reached Firando, whither he sailed direct from the Moluccas, he sent a messenger to apprise Adams of his arrival, and to entreat him to repair to that port for the purpose of affording him his assistance in the arrangements he desired to make. He was meanwhile received with great distinction by the principal chiefs of the place, on whom the writers of those times bestowed the name of kings. One of these, somewhat advanced in life, had four wives, whom he brought along with him on board the English ship, where they appeared unveiled without the least reluctance. The complexion of these women was greatly wanting in colour, which led Saris to believe that this was the case generally among the Japanese. But Dr Ainslie, who accompanied the expedition sent out 200 years after by Sir Stamford Raffles, was led to adopt the contrary conclusion, since he observed that the Japanese women have generally a complexion more blooming than that of Europeans. His testimony, however, is not supported by that of other travellers, who, upon the whole, agree with Saris in his idea of female attractions among the Japanese.

Adams, as might have been expected, was not slow in accepting the invitation of Captain Saris, but hastened with all speed to Firando, where we must imagine the satisfaction with which these adventurous navigators met each other. To shew his respect for Adams's countrymen the king of Firando lent them one of his own ships, in which they proceeded, to Surunga, where, immediately obtaining an audience of the *cubo-sama*, they secured for the trade of Great Britain all the advantages that could be desired. Permission was granted to erect a factory at Firando, and, in the warmth of his friendship, the emperor granted to all Englishmen the fullest permission possible to trade with all ports of his dominions. These privileges he set forth in letters addressed to James I., the originals of which we have not been able to discover.

While Saris and Adams were still at court, a Spanish captain named Sebastian arrived, ostensibly for the purpose of defending the act of surveying the coast of Quanto, as it is stated, without the permission of the emperor. His proceedings led to no result. The star of Spain was obviously setting in that part of the world, and simple leave even to take away the Spaniards who remained in Japan, and remove them to New Spain, was refused, while he had the mortification to behold the English succeed in all their demands. There is no good reason to doubt that the credit of our countrymen was at that time so great in Japan that the Dutch were fain to pass for Englishmen in order to succeed in their designs. What we regard as far more curious is the fact, that the Japanese used then to amuse themselves by the performance of comedies, in which the various foreigners who visited their country were exhibited as engaged in contests with each other; and it is probable that some Shakspeare of Surunga, without perhaps being acquainted with 'Love's Labour Lost,' invented a second Don Arnado, buffeted and overcome by a sturdy John Bull, to the great amusement of the fashionable audiences of the capital. The Jesuits are unwilling to lend credence to these circumstances; but as there was gaiety in Japan in those days, we can discover no improbability whatever in the matter.

These reverend fathers display extreme ingenuity in the account they have transmitted to us of William Adams, whose influence with the emperor they are constrained to admit, though they are careful to

insinuate that when a man aims only at mischief he seldom encounters great difficulties, especially among kings. As was extremely natural, Adams used all the credit he possessed in favour of his own countrymen. Having been consulted by the cubo-sama as to whether it was permitted in Europe for strangers to sound the harbours of foreign countries, he replied that there it was always regarded as an act of hostility, and that in all likelihood the Spaniards had formed some designs upon Japan, which led them to study the best means of entering the country. He further added, that the Portuguese and Spaniards being united under one prince, it was necessary to hold them both equally in suspicion. He then enlarged on the ambition of Spain, which led it to extend its dominions in all parts, and spoke of its missionaries as so many spies and emissaries sent forth to debauch the people from the allegiance of their native princes. For this reason, he said, the king of England, the princes of Germany, the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the republic of Holland, had expelled the religious orders from their dominions, being persuaded that peace and tranquillity would be impossible so long as these stirrers-up of discord were tolerated. This speech of Adams harmonised so well with the confession of the Spanish navigator, which we have already quoted, that it produced a powerful effect on the mind of the emperor, who discovered in it the principles of a sound policy.

At the same time, however, it suggested the suspicion, that as all Europeans were substantially of the same religion, the same reasons existed for clearing his empire of them all. This idea he imparted to Adams, who replied: 'It is true we are at bottom of the same religion as the Spaniards; but while we have preserved our faith in its purity, they have corrupted theirs on so many points that they can now scarcely be said to agree with us at all. Besides, we never convert our religion into a pretext for invading the dominions of princes who differ from us in matters of belief.' He added much more to the same purpose, and succeeded ultimately in persuading the emperor to adopt those maxims of policy which were most favourable to the interests of his countrymen.

Should our government determine to send out a commercial mission to Yedo, it will of course be necessary to recall to the recollection of the Japanese court the instruments by which in former ages the cubo-sama awarded privileges to the English. It may be useful also to familiarise the mind of the country with these documents, especially as nothing to the contrary was ever issued. Our forefathers were not expelled from Japan, but only through their own negligence suffered our intercourse with that country to die away. Of this the authorities at Nangasaki reminded Sir Edward Belcher in 1845, and there is therefore good reason to believe that, with a people singularly attached to the maxims of their ancestors, the exhibition of the primitive articles of arrangement would be productive of much advantage. The reply of the emperor to the letter sent by James I. ran as follows:—

'TO THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.—Your majesty's kind letter, brought me by your servant Captain John Saris—who is the first I have known to arrive in any part of my dominions—I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to hear of your great wisdom and power, as having three rich and mighty kingdoms under your powerful commands. I acknowledge your

majesty's great bounty in sending me so undeserved a present of many rich things, such as neither my land affordeth nor have I ever before seen; which I receive not as from a stranger, but as from your majesty, whom I esteem as myself, desiring continuance of friendship with your highness, and that it may stand with your good liking to send your subjects to any part or parts of my dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome, applauding much their worthiness in the admirable knowledge of navigation, they having with much facility discovered a country so remote, being no whit deterred by the extent of so mighty a gulf, or greatness of such infinite clouds and storms, from prosecuting honourable enterprises of discoveries and merchandising, wherein they shall find me to further them according to their desires. I return unto your majesty a small token of my affection, desiring you to accept thereof as from him who much rejoiceth in your friendship. And whereas your majesty's subjects have desired certain privileges for trade and settling of a factory in my dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the same unto them under my broad seal for better establishing thereof.

'From my castle in Surunga, the fourth of the ninth month, in the eighteenth year of our day, according to our computation. Resting your majesty's friend, the highest commander of the kingdom of Japan.

(Subscribed)

MINNA MOUTTANO YEI YE YEAS.'

To this letter let us add the instrument conceding to the English the privilege of trading with Japan. It runs thus:—

'Privileges granted by the Emperor of Japan to the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith and others, the honourable and worshipful adventurers to the East Indies:—

'*Imprimis*—We give free leave to the subjects of the King of Great Britain—namely, Sir Thomas Smith, governor, and Company of the East Indian merchants and adventurers—for ever safely to come unto any of our ports of our empire of Japan with their ships and merchandises without any hinderance to them or their goods; and to reside, buy, sell, and barter according to their own manner with all nations, to continue there so long as they think fit, and to depart at their leisure.

'*Item*—We grant unto them freedom of custom for all such merchandises as they have now brought or hereafter shall bring into our kingdoms, or shall from hence transport unto any foreign port; and do authorise those ships which shall hereafter arrive from England to proceed to free sale of their commodities without further coming or sending up to our court.

'*Item*—That if any of their ships shall be in danger of being wrecked, it is our pleasure that our subjects not only assist them, but that such part of ship or goods as shall be saved shall be returned to their captain or Cape-merchants, or their assigns; and that they shall or may build one house or more themselves in any part of our empire where they shall think fittest; and that at their departure they shall have liberty to make sale thereof at their pleasure.

'*Item*—If any of the English merchants or others shall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the disposal of the Cape-merchant; and that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said Cape-merchant according to his discretion, and that our laws shall take no hold of their persons or goods.

'Item—We charge and command that ye, our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, do pay them for the same according to agreement without delay, or return of their wares again.

'Item—For such commodities as they have now brought, or hereafter bring, fit and proper for our use and service, our will is, that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be agreed with the Cape-merchant as they sell to others, and present payment made upon the delivery of the goods.

'Item—If in the discovery of other countries for trade, on return of their ships, they shall want men or victuals, our will is that ye, our subjects, sell them for their money as their need shall require.

'Lastly—That without any other passport they shall and may set out upon the discovery of Yedzo, or any other port in or about our empire.

'From our castle in Surunga, the first day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth of our reign, according to our computation. Sealed with our broad seal.

(Under written)

MINNA MOUTTANO YEI YE YEAS.'

Our factory at Firando had scarcely been established ten years when we withdrew from the field, leaving our rivals in full possession of it; but a new system was already on the eve of being introduced, for the Portuguese had so strongly excited the jealousy of the government, that the germ of the idea of the complete exclusion of Europeans that followed seems even then to have been introduced into the Japanese mind. Probably, therefore, what we relinquished voluntarily we might have been deprived of, at least for a time, by circumstances, had we endeavoured to maintain our position. Few social phenomena recorded in the history of the world are more worthy to engross the attention of the philosopher than those exhibited during the next twenty years by society in Japan. A religion which had taken root, and numbered more than a million among its supporters, was extinguished by the civil power. Its professors were exterminated or forced back into paganism. All proper intercourse with the rest of the world was abandoned by a large empire; for the admission of a fixed number of foreigners, who consent for gain to live in close imprisonment on an artificial island, or in an entirely isolated quarter of a provincial city, can scarcely deserve to be called by such a name.

It by no means enters into the plan of the present Paper to describe these events in detail-- partly because it would be impossible to compress such an account within limits so narrow, and partly because they are in many cases of a nature not to be described. Cruelty more ingenious was never exercised; ferocity more ruthless was never exhibited. Hundreds of thousands, whose minds and constitutions would not enable them to endure the pangs of martyrdom, apostatised at once; others yielded to the force of protracted torments; while many hundreds, perhaps thousands, set all forms of suffering at defiance, and perished courageously in the opinion they had embraced. The course adopted by the Jesuits in these troubles was very extraordinary: rather than deny their faith they exposed themselves to the most fearful persecution, and lay in cold and damp dungeons till they were nothing but a framework of bones covered with hard skins. Yet in many instances, when an opportunity for escape seemed to present itself, they stuck at no number or amount of falsehoods, when the question

was, whether they did or did not belong to the monastic orders. With a strange casuistry scarcely intelligible to us, they show a nice distinction between denying their religion and denying their orders. To do the latter, they regarded as venial or even praiseworthy; to do the former, as the most detestable apostasy. But that they were sincere notwithstanding in their general purpose, is proved by the readiness with which they hazarded or even laid down their lives to gain the great end they had in view. The Japanese government put the monks to death till it grew almost weary of slaughter, imprisoned, pursued, and hunted them down till its resolution nearly gave way; but when there was a chance that toleration would spring up out of the very horrors of intolerance itself, the Christians, both European and native, seeing no hope of improvement in their condition, resolved to try the chances of war; rushed to arms, and intrenched themselves in the strong castle of Simabara. With the alacrity and fury of persecution the government immediately sent a strong force to operate against the insurgents; but not being skilled in the art of assailing strong places, they were compelled to solicit aid of the Dutch, who, little suspecting what would be their ultimate reward, afforded it cheerfully. Expecting no mercy, the besieged Christians displayed the most inflexible courage; and it was not until their walls had been battered down by the Dutch artillery, and the streets of Simabara ran ankle-deep with blood, that they at length yielded, or rather succumbed to irresistible force. The scenes of massacre that ensued it would only sicken our readers to relate. It is sufficient to observe in one word, that Christianity was extinguished in the blood of its followers; that the Buddhists and Sintoists remain in possession of the mind of the Japanese; and that it has thenceforward been found impracticable for a missionary of any kind to introduce himself into the Japanese empire.

The Dutch calculated that for the services they had rendered the government at Simabara, such commercial advantages would be granted them as would reconcile the proceeding to their consciences. Experience soon proved how grossly they had deceived themselves. While they remained comparatively free and flourishing at Firando, the Portuguese little by little lost all their power and influence, until at length they were shut up on the small artificial island of Dezima, in the harbor of Nangasaki, where they were ridiculed and insulted by the Dutch. Nothing, however, is more certain than there is a Nemesis in human affairs which brings about the punishment of those who triumph over others in adversity. The Portuguese having been completely expelled the empire, the Dutch were ordered to evacuate the new factories and all the other buildings they had erected at Firando, to take possession of the prison formerly appropriated to the Portuguese. Reluctantly and with deep humiliation those ruthless and unprincipled traders repaired to their new abode, where, exposed to the unmeasured contempt of the natives, and to the upbraidings of their own consciences, they have remained upwards of 200 years without having made the slightest advance towards emancipation.

After the lapse of half a century, the English, in the reign of Charles II., began to think of recovering the position we had lost in Japan. Ships, therefore, were sent out for the purpose of re-opening friendly relations; but owing to the matrimonial connections of the king, the attempt proved com-

pletely abortive. This fact should be kept carefully in mind: it was not as Englishmen we were refused the privilege of trading with Japan, but as the subjects of a king who had married a Popish princess, and that, too, from among the worst enemies of Japan—the Portuguese. There was now no Adams at court to counteract the machinations of the Dutch, who, dreading the effects of our interference with their petty trade, and imagining, perhaps, that we might consent to replace them in the prison of *Dezima*, actively propagated all sorts of calumnies against us. Their dishonourable policy was successful: the envoy of Charles II. was dismissed with little show of courtesy, and no strenuous effort can be said to have been made to renew intercourse from that day to the present. Shortly afterwards, our acquisition of an empire on the Indian continent so thoroughly satisfied our ambition as well as our thirst of gain that we may be said to have forgotten altogether the existence of Japan. Besides, the East India Company—whose efforts have generally been regulated by capricious maxims—would not permit private adventurers to direct the tide of enterprise towards the China seas. With a narrow and sordid jealousy, it interfered to paralyse all their attempts, and for many ages met with invariable success. Thus in the kingdom of Siam, where, in the seventeenth century, independent merchants had contrived to create a trade which had promised to become important, the East India Company employed an agent to blast their prospects and procure their expulsion from the country. This it did also without making any attempt to erect a commercial edifice on the ruins of that which it had destroyed. Content with accomplishing mischief and paralysing the energies of others, it operated as a complete bar to the extension of British commerce in the further East.

Much the same remarks will apply to the rest of Europe, which from time to time obtained dim glimpses of the Japanese group, without, however, doing anything towards profiting by its knowledge. Hakluyt and Purchas had published accounts, brief and inaccurate, of the curiosities of the group; Maffei had likewise done something towards directing public attention to it; and the historian of Captain Saris's voyage contributed his share towards enlightening the public mind; but the principal contribution towards a general knowledge of Japan was supplied by Engelbert Kaempfer in his *Amenitates Exoticæ*—an elaborate history of the country. This latter work, though quaint, and abounding in proofs of prejudice and credulity, is still perhaps the most complete we possess. Its author, a physician and a naturalist, had been a great traveller before he found himself in Japan, which he searched with earnestness, perseverance, and success. A protracted residence at Nangasaki, and two visits to Yedo, afforded him a considerable insight into the manners of the people, while it enabled him to speak from ocular observation of the productions and appearances of several provinces of the empire.

While our knowledge increased, however, our apathy appeared to increase along with it. In China we occupied a position little less degrading than that of the Dutch in Japan. If not in a state of absolute captivity, we were the next thing to it; but as a large amount of gain accrued to us from this humiliation, we endured it with stoical indifference, and should still, in all likelihood, have persevered in that contemptible

policy, had not the Chinese, encouraged, by our pusillanimity, pushed their insolence and arrogance to lengths intolerable even to us. At the same time we were in India giving proofs of the most indomitable courage, accompanied by insatiable ambition. Throne after throne fell before us—dynasties were swept away—whole races of men disappeared from the scene, either exterminated in battle or lost by merging in the neighbouring populations. Nothing appeared too great for us to attempt, nothing too arduous for us to achieve. Yet a few miles further eastward we, the conquerors of the Mogul empire, the haughty masters of India from the Himalaya Mountains to the sea, cringed submissively to a sensual, sordid, pig-tailed, oblique-visioned race, themselves slaves to a handful of Tartars, who had issued at no remote period from the same country with the Moguls.

Moral phenomena like these, though susceptible no doubt of explanation, are still perplexing both to the historian and the philosopher. Our neglect of Japan belongs to the same category. After the death of Captain Cook, the ships which had once been under the command of that great navigator passed down the eastern coast of Japan. Captain Colnet, in 1791, sailed along the opposite coast of the group, which was visited by Captain Broughton in 1796, and by the ship *Frederic* from Calcutta in 1803, but without the slightest perceptible result, commercial or political.

In 1808 an incident occurred which threatened to engage us in hostilities with Japan. The *Phaeton* frigate, under the command of Captain Pelew, entered the harbour of Nangasaki in quest of fresh water and provisions. This at least was the ostensible reason; but the whole transaction lies involved in so much mystery that it seems scarcely possible to throw any satisfactory light upon it. The Dutch, always our rivals, had then, by their alliance with France, become our most deadly enemies, and through their long-established influence were enabled to prejudice the natives against us. On the other hand, an unparalleled career of naval victories has probably rendered our officers somewhat overbearing. In whatever way we account for it, a serious misunderstanding took place between the British commander and the governor of Nangasaki, the former requiring a supply of provisions for his ship, the latter peremptorily refusing it. As might have been expected, the Gordian-knot was cut by the landing of a number of English seamen, who seized by force on the cattle and on whatever other supplies they required, and conveyed them on board, after which the *Phaeton* sailed away, leaving the Japanese in extreme astonishment at their audacity. But the affair did not terminate there. For reasons which have been differently stated, the court of Yedo inflicted condign punishment on the governor of Nangasaki, who, according to some accounts, was speared to death, though the probability is that, in conformity with the custom of the country, he ripped open his own bowels. At present the Japanese authorities seek to give a courteous interpretation to this tragedy, affirming that the governor was punished for his inhospitable behaviour towards the English. It would not, however, be too Jesuitical to infer from the whole circumstances of the case, that chastisement was inflicted on him for not having cut off Captain Pelew and the force under his command, instead of submitting, as he had done, without offering the slightest resistance to what the *cubo-sama* could not look upon otherwise than as a deadly affront.

Three years later, our Indian government seemed to have placed itself in a position to demand admittance into Japan; for in the year 1811 we took forcible possession of Java, Sumatra, the Moluccas, and all the Dutch possessions in the East. Sir Stamford Raffles, whose active and intelligent mind then gave the true direction to our policy in that part of the world, in the year 1813 caused two ships to be fitted out for Nangasaki, with the design of succeeding to the Dutch trade as part of our political inheritance. Had the means at his disposal been equal to the greatness of his views, no doubt can be entertained that Japan would have been then once for all thrown open to the intercourse of the civilised world. But the plans of our government were timid, their ideas contracted, and all their maxims impressed with the character of incurable mediocrity. The flimsy rhetoric afterwards made use of in parliament to intimidate the nation from asserting its rights in China was then employed to ward off a collision with Japan. Instead of commanding, we petitioned, and encountered the merited fate of all such negotiators: we were craftily received; our merchandise was purchased, but on terms which offered but little encouragement to repeat the attempt. With the modesty which belongs to distinguished abilities, Sir Stamford Raffles persuaded himself that the comparatively slight success of the enterprise was to be attributed to the ill assortment of the cargo, whereas it in truth traced its origin to the intrigues of Doeffs, chief of the Dutch factory in Desima. Some slight efforts seem to have been made towards unkennelling this gentleman and his colleagues, in which we ought to have made a point of succeeding at all hazards. But with characteristic phlegm and pertinacity he maintained his ground, rendered our renewed attempts abortive in the following year, and was then suffered to remain quietly in possession of the ground until the peace of 1815 restored to the Dutch their possessions and undeserved supremacy in the China seas.

Too little attention is paid by the public to the history of those transactions to enable it to appreciate the proceedings of our statesmen of that period, whose ignorance and indifference alone prevented our retaining possession of Java with a fair participation in the trade of the Moluccas. The treaties with Holland, concluded in 1817 and 1824, can only be looked upon as monuments of the incapacity of those who negotiated them on the part of England. Nothing is laid down with clearness or precision; the loosest possible phraseology is made use of: and stipulations and arrangements are entered into which, if interpreted literally and fully acted up to, would not only deprive us of our acquisitions in the Indian Archipelago, but likewise of Australia and New Zealand; for it is there stated that Great Britain for ever relinquished her claim to all islands lying south of Singapore—a portentous relinquishment! By the phrase, however, nothing was in reality signified but that, having agreed to restore to the Dutch their possessions in Sumatra, we would forbear making settlements on the little chain of islets extending south from Singapore along its eastern coast. Still the Dutch from that day to the present have persisted in interpreting the language of the treaty after their own fashion; or, in other words, have maintained that we have by that convention excluded ourselves from taking possession of any island, port, or province lying south of the latitude of Singapore.

There is seldom much gratitude in political communities, especially

when animated by the spirit of commercial rivalry; otherwise we might very fairly have reckoned on being received throughout the whole extent of Netherlands-India not only on the footing of the most favoured nation, but with privileges and advantages peculiar to ourselves. No doubt our diplomatists were at that period wanting in commanding abilities; but taking into account the position of Great Britain, with her riches and her maritime power, it is impossible to doubt that we might at the Congress of Vienna have appropriated to ourselves nearly as much as we pleased of the eastern possessions of Holland. With a generosity which may almost be confounded with recklessness, we restored everything; not reserving to ourselves the slightest advantages in repayment of the improvements we had made and the sacrifices we were then making. The Dutch appeared, however, to be touched with a spark of enthusiasm. Having been raised from the depths of political degradation and weakness to a situation more enviable than had ever belonged to them, they seemed eager to heap upon us by spontaneous concessions every possible mark and token of their gratitude for our self-denial.

The subsequent history of the relations of the two countries in the East affords a painful illustration of how little reliance is to be placed on the feelings or sympathies of trading communities. Beginning from the moment of their restoration, the Dutch unceasingly exerted themselves to thrust us altogether out of the Indian Archipelago, which our unreflecting diplomatists had laid prostrate at their feet. It is consequently no wonder that in their miserable monopoly of Japan they would not willingly permit the least possible interference on our part. On the contrary, nothing can be more evident than that their unalterable policy has been to exasperate the jealousy of the Japanese against us, in order that no opening might be made for the re-establishment of those friendly relations which once subsisted between us and the Japanese.

A few years ago, the writer of the present Paper having bestowed some consideration on the subject, conceived it might be possible, by exciting the interest of the public in the question, to prevail on government to send out a mission to Yedo for the purpose of re-opening commercial relations with Japan. He commenced the agitation of the subject in the 'Morning Chronicle;' the 'Times' and other influential journals daily and weekly lent their active co-operation, and the whole of these islands were soon penetrated by the persuasion that the course of policy sketched out by the 'Morning Chronicle' was perfectly practicable. Several French journals now entered the field, and with an honourable freedom from national jealousy, assisted in stimulating the British government to act as the grand pioneer in breaking through the dam of ignorance and prejudice which excluded the whole civilised world from intercourse with Japan. They at the same time displayed an enlarged acquaintance with the history, manners, and customs of the Japanese, and marshalled all the arguments of a liberal philosophy to extort from the Netherlands government a voluntary acquiescence in the demands of Great Britain and France.

But the course pursued by Holland on that occasion exhibited the most complete consistency with her former career. The leading journals in the interest of government, instead of responding in a liberal spirit to the calls made upon them by the press of France and England, indulged in outbreaks

of virulence and invective such as could only be inspired by a deep consciousness of injustice. Journalism is seldom remarkable for its patience in any country. Being assailed without reason, the English papers replied with a lofty contempt and derision, reminding the Netherlanders that they enjoyed their monopoly by sufferance, and that a single move on the part of the British government would suffice to dissipate it to the winds. They asserted, and illustrated by facts, the inability of Holland to protect her own flag from insult in the China seas; and maintained that but for the presence of the English squadron, it was doubtful whether the annual ship from Batavia would ever be able to reach Nangasaki in safety.

At this stage of the discussion the German journals lent their assistance, maintaining we believe without exception the positions laid down by those of England. Then came the journals of the United States, particularly of New York; after which, as might of course have been foreseen, our countrymen in the East Indies, Ceylon, Singapore, Canton, and Hong-Kong, threw themselves into the arena; in some cases bringing forward arguments, in others adducing facts, to demonstrate the justice and expediency of subduing the obduracy of the Japanese by the display, or, if necessary, even by the application of overwhelming force.

That the British government was not led by all this excitement to take the necessary steps for satisfying the public mind is not to be attributed exclusively to its apathy. Several other causes united to arrest its activity; among which were the almost simultaneous efforts of France and the United States to accomplish the task which we seemed inclined to relinquish to them. The Americans, under Commodore Biddle, and the French, under Rear-Admiral Cecil, made an experiment on the court of Yedo, but for reasons which we shall presently explain they both encountered a repulse. This double defeat unfortunately took place just at the moment when England was meditating the sending out of a well-organised mission. Not to wound the susceptibility of our friends and allies, the design was dropped for the moment; and as the pressure from without ceased nearly at the same time, the plan has never since been resumed.

One of the characteristics of Asiatic governments is an exaggerated idea of their own importance, which colours and modifies the policy they pursue, and often leads them to sacrifice their permanent interests to the gratification of a momentary pride. This weakness, which we must admit while we lament it, is not to be lost sight of by foreign states in their dealings with those governments. Not being able to infuse our theories and ideas into them, we should resolve, as often as we have a point to gain, to accommodate ourselves to their notions; at least where this can be done without any sacrifice of real dignity or honour. Now in negotiations with the Japanese it is certain that we may gratify their wishes without any loss of self respect. All required of us is the expenditure of a certain sum of money in pomp and magnificence, that we may dazzle their imaginations, and afford them a reasonable pretext for laying aside the maxims of their forefathers out of deference to us. To make concessions to a weak, negligent, or contemptuous government, they would regard as an act of dishonour; but they will yield to a little gentle violence, or rather to a judicious display of force, calculated to suggest the idea that we might constrain them if we would. Civilised governments might perhaps construe this into an insult; but it is

otherwise with barbarians, especially when they long to be delivered from the inconveniences of an immemorial practice, and are prepared to reckon among their best friends the authors of their emancipation.

The citizens of the United States—with ideas of simplicity entirely suitable to their form of government, and congenial indeed to freedom in all its modifications—proceeded to Japan as they would have gone from one state of the Union to another, without the slightest affectation of display. Admiral Cecil, though not then representing a republic, followed pretty much the same policy. Regarding these proceedings from the platform of their own idiosyncrasies, the Japanese imagined themselves to be slighted; and finally, though with as much show of politeness as they could command, refused the concessions demanded of them by the strangers. A civilised government, familiar with the grandeur and resources of the great American republic and the French monarchy, would have laid comparatively little stress on the size of the ships in which the negotiators were conveyed: yet we do not find, even in the most refined communities, anything like a philosophical indifference to the rank, character, and appointments of ambassadors. On the contrary, these things are allowed to have great weight; and if such be the case among nations that pique themselves in bestowing more consideration upon realities than appearances, can we wonder that a people still barbarous, and rendered doubly prejudiced by its isolation from human intercourse, should suffer itself to be influenced by the pomps and vanities of diplomacy?

If it be supposed that when the Japanese government determined to exclude all Europeans from its dominions it was able completely to accomplish this purpose, no notion can be more erroneous—the accidents of the ocean, storms, calms, currents, want of fresh water or provisions, and even the passions and caprice of navigators, would suffice to defeat such a project. Accordingly, it has constantly happened that the intercourse so fiercely prohibited is still carried on; that foreign ships do put into Japanese ports; that strangers from Europe and America do actually land from time to time on the coast, procure refreshments and merchandise by exchanging presents with the natives, and that the inhabitants of the secluded empire are able to furnish irrefragable proofs that they desire nothing so earnestly as to be restored to their rights as members of the great human family. The visits of the American ships *Morrison* and *Hinmahle*, and of the English frigate *Samarang*, under Captain Belcher in 1845, brought out into strong relief the sympathy of the natives with the rest of mankind.

In the case of the last-mentioned ship, it may perhaps be said that its commander slightly misunderstood the feelings and intentions of the authorities; that they may have been less friendly than they appeared; and that the slightest attempt to transgress the limits established by diplomatic etiquette would have produced a conflict between the *Samarang* and the forces assembled at Nangasaki. From the details of his own narrative we think it extremely probable that Sir Edward Belcher drew many inferences not at all authorised by facts; that he interpreted too literally expressions of mere politeness and civility; that he persuaded himself to believe what he wished to be true; and that, had he remained, as he was invited, fourteen days, the answer brought from court might have been as unfavourable as that vouchsafed to Commodore Biddle and Admiral Cecil.

But this proves nothing, because Captain Belcher proceeded unauthorised to Japan, and was of course therefore not the bearer of any letters or presents from the British government. It must have been clear to people much less acute than the Japanese that his was a mere chance visit, and that any civilities they might shew him must be set down to their innate sense of hospitality, or to their respect for the British nation in general. Nevertheless they permitted him to enter the roads of Nangasaki, and would not have objected to his casting anchor in their harbour itself; suffered him to land and make observations by night, and winked at his sounding the harbour; for that the persons employed on this service eluded their vigilance is not to be credited. Without interpreting too strictly the language of compliment, we may believe that the great officers of government in Japan, who boldly attributed their own feelings to the emperor, do really regret that the English should have ever interrupted their intercourse with that country, and that they would heartily rejoice to see an end put to a state of things which cannot by any possibility be either agreeable or profitable to them.

Other circumstances had long ago rendered it unquestionable that the Japanese people earnestly desire the renewal of their intercourse with Europeans. Many ships engaged in the South-Sea trade, by accident or otherwise touching at Japan, have generally met with a hearty welcome. According to the old-established laws of the empire, trade with strangers is prohibited: whatever they need must be furnished them gratis, and they are to be desired at their departure not to return. But the officers intrusted with the execution of these laws, not at all comprehending the utility of them, but rather believing them to be extremely pernicious, are little disposed to act in conformity with their spirit. Commerce is an indestructible want of humanity. It is a law of our nature that we should delight in buying and selling, in exchanging the commodities we possess, and of which we have a surplus, for those in the possession of others, and in cultivating friendly relations with strangers and foreigners, who approach us with the olive-branch in their hands.

The mandarins on the coast, therefore, with an ingenuity which does them great credit, generally instruct their visitors in the course proper to be pursued, compromising themselves as little as possible. Captain Jones is strictly cautioned against coming back, and it is also intimated that the *Marianne* of Hull or Sunderland must no more be seen in those parts; but if Captain Jones should think proper to transform himself into Captain Morgan, and if the *Marianne* should present herself as the *Good Endeavour*, how is any mandarin to be able to pierce through these disguises and confusion of names? By a little management the same captain and the same ship might return annually for ten or twenty years without any infraction of the laws, or any danger of bowel-ripping to the authorities. No exact record is indeed kept of these irregular transactions, but in various ways we discover that they take place. Besides, when at wide intervals foreign ships put into the harbour of Nangasaki, nothing can repress the disposition on the part of the people to make known their desire for intercourse with the strangers: they crowd in innumerable boats about the adventurous interlopers; and though chased and driven back by what we may denominate the imperial coast-guard, they incessantly return, till all

chance or hope of effecting their purpose is removed by the departure of the vessels.

Occasionally, in other parts of the empire, the mandarins under court-influence affect a dread of punishment which they evidently do not feel. Europeans, therefore, who have any object to accomplish by transgressing the ancient laws of the empire, are beginning to treat their fears as groundless; and there can scarcely be a doubt that the unavoidable accidents of commerce will of themselves force the Japanese to abandon their inhospitable system. Humboldt is of opinion that this will only take place when the Isthmus of Panama shall have been cut through. Unquestionably, as this will bring us 6000 or 7000 miles nearer to Japan, the difficulties of preserving its isolation will be greatly multiplied; but it will be a mere wanton sacrifice of commercial advantages to abandon the enterprise to the fortuitous course of events. Policy should take the matter out of the hands of accident. That the Japanese are brave we admit, and that their government might exhibit some little obstinacy we allow to be probable; but if Great Britain were to signify in an intelligible manner its wish for the renewal of our ancient intercourse, the court of Yedo would give way.

Some may perhaps infer, from the circumstances attending one of the very last visits of a British ship to any part of the group, that hostile feelings are still cherished towards Europeans. Our readers shall themselves judge. In the year 1849 the commander-in-chief in the China seas ordered Commander Mathison, in the *Mariner*, to visit the coast of Japan. He accordingly proceeded and anchored off the town of Oragawa, twenty-five miles from the capital of the empire, and three miles farther than any other vessel of a foreign nation had been allowed to proceed. The *Mariner* sounded all the way across and along the shores. 'The Japanese interpreter on board having informed the authorities of the object of my visit, I sent my card, written in Chinese, ashore to the governor, requesting him to receive my visit; to which he replied, that out of courtesy to me, and curiosity to himself, he would have been delighted to have paid me a visit, and also entertain me ashore, but that it was contrary to the laws of the country for any foreigner to land, and that he, the governor, would lose his life if he permitted me to proceed any farther up the bay. When about eight miles from Cape Misaki, which forms the south-west end of the bay, ten boats, manned with twenty armed men and five mandarins in each, came alongside. I allowed the mandarins to come on board, when they presented me a paper written in French and Dutch, directing me not to anchor or cruise about the bay. Finding, however, I was determined to proceed, they offered, when within two miles of the anchorage, to tow me up, which I accordingly accepted. Several boats were stationed around us during the night, forts were lighted up, and several hundred boats were collected along the shore, all fully manned and armed. In return I had my guns loaded, and requested their boats to keep at a respectful distance during the night. Othosan, the interpreter, was in great dread, saying that in case we landed the Japanese would murder us all, and as for himself, he would be reserved for a lingering death by torture. Oragawa appears to be the key of the capital, and contains 20,000 inhabitants. All the junks going and returning to Yedo must pass the custom-house

here: and with a moderate force the whole trade of the capital might be stopped. With an armed steamer the passage up to Yedo might be surveyed; and I was informed that a ship could approach within five miles of the city. Between the capital and the port an excellent road exists. The mandarins here appear to be of an inferior class, treated us civilly, and were anxious to gain any information from us, but would give none in return. They took sketches of different parts of the ship, sent us some water, vegetables, and eggs, and then were continually inquiring when I intended to depart. Mr Halloran, the master, having made a survey of the anchorage, I weighed and proceeded to Semodi Bay, of which an accurate survey was made. I landed at this place, but the mandarins immediately followed, entreating me to return on board. They supplied us with plenty of fish, and sent fifty boats to tow us out. The governor of the province came on board at this place; he lives at a town called Mionaki, thirteen miles off, and was evidently a man of high rank from the respect shewn him by his suite. The Dutch interpreter from Oragawa likewise came on board with two mandarins to watch our proceedings. They were, however, doubtless acting as spies on each other.

It results, we think, from all that has been said, that it would be extremely practicable, by the application of a little gentle violence, to withdraw the Japanese from their isolation, and restore to commerce the advantages it might derive from free intercourse with them. On the morality of the question we have no doubts whatever. Itinerant agitators, who substitute a sickly sentimentality for logic—not because they themselves possess sentiment, but because they find it palatable to their audiences—may affect to cast upon our views the charge of Machiavelism. But the nature of justice is not to be altered by declamation. It is always possible to go back to the original principles of society, and to prove by invincible arguments, whatever dealers in romance may advance to the contrary, that no community has a right to segregate itself from the rest of mankind, to avoid intercourse with them, to deny them the advantages to be derived from the use of the surplus commodities produced by their country, and thus to initiate a process which, if carried out rigorously by the entire species, would reduce the whole world to a den of wild beasts. For what is lawful for one country is lawful for all countries, for all provinces, for all individuals. And let the anti-social principle be applied universally, would it not, we ask, be a total subversion of the laws of nature which ordain the free intercourse of man with man, and of nation with nation?

To comprehend the full force of this reasoning we must perhaps bring it home to ourselves. Let us, then, imagine the existence in England of a district adapted to the rearing of bees, and that all the rest of the country was unsuited to them, so that they could not live in it. The favoured district would abound in wax and honey in such plenty that the inhabitants could not profitably make use of their whole stock. Let us, however, suppose the existence of some law acting like a wall of circumvallation round the district, preventing the people carrying forth their wax and honey, and exchanging them for wheat, for beef and mutton, for calico and woollen cloths, hats, boots, and other necessities to be found in the surrounding districts. Let us imagine further, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties and parishes stood in great need of honey.

and wax, which they could not possibly obtain from any other part of the world. Would they not feel and exclaim against the injustice and folly of the regulation preventing intercourse between the interdicted district and the rest of the country? And would they not forthwith, on the strength of this conviction, insist on the abrogation of the law? They would say, and with good reason, nature intended, when the owners of the wax and honey had used what was required for their own purposes, that they should accommodate their neighbours with the surplus; first, because it would otherwise be wasted and lost to the world; and, second, that in order, by promoting intercourse, men should learn to feel their relationship to each other, and become more considerate, tolerant, and humane. This was evidently the design of nature in bestowing on every country commodities peculiar to itself, that the human race, being but one family, might perceive that they stand in want of each other, and be thus by degrees united in a vast fraternal union.

If, consequently, there be a people who, through sullenness or caprice, resolve to isolate themselves, and thus defeat the beneficent intentions of nature, it is perfectly lawful for the rest of mankind to compel them to abandon their misanthropical design. No nation has a right to stand apart, since by so doing it would be commencing that process, the completion of which would be the absolute destruction of human society. We altogether disregard the sophistry of those writers or speakers who seek to direct the prejudices of the community against our doctrine. We take up our stand on the eternal principles of right and justice, not to be overthrown by the arbitrary theories or capricious practices of diplomacy. The world has been long enough the slave of routine. It is now at length time to adopt some better rule of proceeding, and perhaps the wisest of all courses would be to render our opinions and actions conformable to the original laws of our nature. It is very possible, no doubt, for fluent speakers, surrounded by unreflecting audiences, to elicit applause by a superficial show of humanity. In all ages and countries rhetoric has on such arenas been more than a match for truth. But when the aid of reflection is called in, when we examine, and ponder, and meditate—in other words, when we educate ourselves, and oppose solid instruction to voluble ignorance—we are forced back by the way we came, and constrained to content ourselves with simple truth and unsophisticated nature.

But admitting, it may be said, that the states enjoying the benefits of civilisation have a right to employ force, if necessary, to extort from the Japanese government the right to trade with its subjects, are the resources of the empire such as to justify this course of policy on the grounds of expedience? From various causes we are kept very much in the dark on several questions connected with the internal condition of Japan. No census was probably ever taken, so that we are ignorant of the exact amount of its population, which, however, has been roughly estimated at about 40,000,000. It may be more, or it may be less; but it is impossible to possess the slightest acquaintance with the country without being persuaded that it is considerable. Supposing, therefore, the whole group freely thrown open to commerce, it is difficult to exaggerate the advantages which must necessarily accrue to the industry of Europe. China possesses a long coast-line and many ports, but the great mass of its population is

thrown back inland, and may easily be cut off, by custom-house regulations, from a free intercourse with foreigners; but Japan consists of a number of islands, and is indented and intersected on all sides by innumerable bays, creeks, inlets, roadsteads, ports, harbours, and channels, which would enable trade to touch almost everywhere the heart of the population. Another circumstance highly favourable to our views is the enterprising character of the people, which would at once lead them, if set free by their government, to avail themselves to the full of the advantages of intercourse with Europeans.

Nor are the products of the islands few or insignificant. In the great island of Nippon there are mines of gold which were once thought to be no less productive than those of California. During the existence of the Portuguese trade immense quantities of this precious metal were exported annually to Macao, which, as we have already said, was erected as if by magic with resources drawn entirely from Japan. Afterwards the working of the gold mines was stopped by imperial ordinance, from the fear, as some believe, that the supply would be otherwise speedily exhausted, though many are of opinion that the reason of the decree is to be sought for in the apprehension that, if some measure were not put to the search after the ore, the relative value of gold and silver would be destroyed, which, according to the theories and fashion at Yedo, might prove a serious misfortune to the human race.

Silver mines are said likewise to be plentiful, though it is for its copper that Japan is now chiefly celebrated among the Netherlanders. This metal is said to be of so rare a fineness and beauty, that it may be used in the most delicate watch-work, and in various ways in which no other copper in the world would be of the least service. Pearls of a red colour are found on the coast; the rice cultivated in the marsh-lands is the most excellent in Asia; and there are extensive coal fields, which, when steam-navigation shall be introduced, will be considered invaluable. Silk of extraordinary beauty is manufactured in several provinces; while the tea is in many respects superior to the best imported from China. The quantity of this last article at present grown is very considerable, because it is in general use among the people. But supposing the trade with Europe to be open, the amount would probably be increased tenfold.

On a mountain near Meaco a particular sort of tea is cultivated, for the exclusive use, it is said, of the imperial court. The accounts transmitted to us of this branch of Japanese industry are no doubt distorted and extravagant; but making due allowance for the exaggeration of travellers, and for the prejudices or fancies of those who supplied them with information, enough of what is really extraordinary will remain. The trees, it is said, are planted at a due distance from each other, and form long avenues, stretching up to the summit of the mountain, and then again leading on the other side down to its base. From the whole area the turf has been pared away: no plant, not even a blade of grass, is permitted to grow; and the entire space is kept so carefully swept, that not a fallen leaf remains many hours on the ground. When in spring the time for gathering the young tea has arrived, persons with gloves on their hands and respirators on their mouths are employed in picking, so that the delicacy of the princes and grantees may not be offended by the supposition that vulgar persons have

even breathed on this costly article of luxury. Several specimens of Japanese tea—though not, it is to be presumed, of the imperial kind—were a few years ago brought to England, and sold at the India House, where, probably on account of their rarity, they fetched three guineas a pound. This is the To-kay of the tea-table; and its cups, which cheer but not inebriate, would scarcely make less inroads on a man's fortune than Esterhazy's vintage.

But the great consideration is not what we could obtain from Japan, but what in the way of merchandise we might supply to it. In former times it received from Europeans damask, satin, velvet, and cloth of gold, pepper, broadcloth, and ivory. The Chinese brought whole junks laden with sugar; and among the other imports were Brazil-wood, tin, Bantam pepper, cast-iron, gunpowder, soccatrine aloes, fowling-pieces, calico and chintzes, Chinese silks, benzoin, and silks from Cochin-China. In order to interest the Hudson Bay Company in throwing open the trade of Japan, we may observe that nearly throughout the empire, but especially in the northern and more mountainous provinces, great quantities of fur are worn. Red felt is imported from China; and it can scarcely be doubted that the more expensive sorts of carpets would meet there with a ready sale, together with all sorts of rich stuffs and muslins of bright patterns.

We have already related briefly the steps by which the Dutch came to be confined on the island of Dezima, in the harbour of Nangasaki. Their trade, which at first brought them in large profits, is now reduced to a small compass, and is carried on in one ship despatched annually from Batavia, in the island of Java. As might naturally be expected, the Dutch, despised for their meanness and avarice, which make them submit to the most degrading conditions, are regarded with extreme contempt by the Japanese, who heap upon them all kinds of affronts and insults, well knowing that for gain they will cheerfully submit to them all. When, after a voyage of about five or six weeks, the eager idolaters of mammon approach their destination, they immediately obtain a foretaste of what they are afterwards to endure: a boat is sent out with orders for them to cast anchor on pain of being treated as enemies, and to demand such explanations as the authorities may deem requisite. While they are waiting permission to proceed to their prison, the employment in which they are engaged proves them to be in the dominions of victorious heathenism. They put their religion, together with all possible insignia of it—such as Bibles, prayer-books, pictures or prints representing sacred subjects—in a chest, and make up their minds willingly enough in most cases to conform to the laws of their new existence. To put it out of their power to be rebellious, the Japanese at the same time take possession of their guns, ammunition, and arms of all kinds, and convey them, together with the religious chest, ashore, where they are kept during their stay.

Now commences a struggle between the cunning of the Dutch and the watchfulness of the natives. But a superior police-officer is stationed on Dezima, to superintend the landing of the cargo as well as the personal examination of the whole crew, which is conducted in the most offensive manner—partly to ascertain that there are no women disguised among them, and partly to prevent smuggling, to which, it is well known, the islanders are immoderately addicted. Some years ago the most ludicrous means

were resorted to for eluding the vigilance of the Nangasaki custom-house officers. Taking advantage of their reputation for physical development, and not caring how queer they looked provided they could cheat the emperor, all the ships' crew, both officers and men, used to put on a suit of wadded clothes, which gave them the appearance of so many Sileni. When about to go on shore the wadding was taken out, and its place supplied by such merchandise as they desired to smuggle into the country; after this the wadding was again assumed, and worn till their departure, notwithstanding the sweltering heat and all the inconveniences it occasioned them. Then, again, the wadding made way for contraband goods; after which the heavy Netherlanders collapsed to their natural dimensions, and returned shrunken and shrivelled to Batavia.

It is not to be imagined that this astute device really imposed upon the custom-house officers of Nangasaki, who doubtless winked at the strange *travestie* for a handsome consideration. At length, however, the Dutchmen became too fat, and the stratagem exploded. Whether or not the transgressors of the law were punished or insulted we forget, but from that time to the present the Mynheers have been constrained to submit to a strict humiliating search, from which the chief of the factory is alone exempt. The island of Dezima, on which the Dutch have vegetated for more than 200 years, is in reality a sort of pier or breakwater, 600 feet long by 240 broad, built on the waves at a short distance from the shore. Its whole surface is covered with houses and warehouses, and it is connected with Nangasaki by a narrow causeway, terminating in a guard-house at the end. The commercial prisoners are eleven in number—the chief of the factory, a warehouse-master, a book-keeper, a physician, five clerks, and two warehousemen. European servants they have none; but they are attended during the day by Japanese domestics, who enter the island at sunrise and quit it regularly at sunset.

But the Netherlanders are not left entirely to their own devices during the hours of darkness. Japan abounds with courtizans, and of these any number would appear to receive permission from the government to reside with the Dutch in Dezima as servants. Without their aid, as one of their writers pathetically expresses it, the unhappy captives would not be able to boil their tea-kettles or support confinement during the dreary years they are condemned to pass at a distance from their homes. The children born of these women, in conformity with the provisions of the Roman law, belong to the country of their mothers, who are not suffered to bring them into the world in Dezima. When the interesting period approaches, they are hurried across the causeway into Nangasaki, in order that the future citizens of the empire may not inhale with their first breath the degrading servitude of their fathers. When the women are sufficiently recovered to return, they are nevertheless permitted to take their children along with them; so that the little semi-Dutchmen can almost fancy themselves in Amsterdam. But when the period for education arrives, it is of no use for any of the captives of Dezima to have a heart, for, like it or dislike it, his children are torn from him to be trained, disciplined, instructed, or debauched, as it may seem fit to the authorities of Nangasaki. What becomes of the daughters is not stated. In all likelihood they are permitted to belong to the class of their mothers; while the sons are provided for by

being placed at the fathers' expense in some low office under government. Much may no doubt be said in defence of these Netherlanders, but there are in the world many persons who would rather dispense altogether with wives and children than submit to such infamous and insulting regulations.

If to be born in *Dezima* be a crime for a Japanese, to die there is no less so. As soon as any woman or child, therefore, is seized with any complaint likely to prove mortal, she or he is hurried away to some place where, according to the language of the country, they may lawfully die. But even in *Dezima* death is sometimes extremely unceremonious, making as light of Japanese laws as of the passions and desires of Dutchmen. When this is the case, the Buddhists of the empire have a contrivance for saving their honour; which is to take the dead body over the causeway, and swear it is alive, which satisfies both the magistrates and the laws. Truth is a joke in Japan, especially where imperial edicts are concerned; and therefore it is fearlessly affirmed that no Japanese ever died or was born in *Dezima*.

To complete the humiliations of the Dutch we must not omit to mention the ceremony said to have taken place annually, of trampling on a picture with the Virgin and Child which the Japanese would have regarded as a denial of Christianity, while to the Dutch themselves it would probably appear to have been a harmless stratagem. Not being Papists, they would not think it necessary to feel or to affect any reverence for the Virgin even with the infant Saviour on her lap. But many, if not all of the Dutch writers, deny that they were ever called upon to insult in this manner the *mute* symbols of Christianity, or at least of a very large section of it; while the Roman Catholic authors, especially the Jesuits, who have treated of Japan, are almost unanimous in the assertion of the fact. For various reasons we are inclined to accept their testimony, though it cannot be doubted that they display on all occasions a disposition to disparage the Netherlanders. In the first place, the conduct of the latter has generally been such as to give a strong colour to the belief. They stick at no means to prejudice the heathenism of Japan against their Christian rivals—not only the Roman Catholic Spaniards and Portuguese, but likewise the Protestant English; and then in the rebellion of *Simabara*, which, say what they will, was an insurrection of the Christians against their pagan oppressors, the Dutch lent their assistance in extirpating the professors of their own creed under no other pretext whatsoever than that of procuring commercial advantages for their nation.

And what now, after all, is the amount of their trade? The value of the merchandise shipped annually from Java to Japan does not exceed £75,000 sterling; that is to say, less by one-half than what the Chinese are suffered to import. Their legal exports are almost exclusively confined to camphor and copper, though the islands abound in inexhaustible materials for commerce, which the Japanese are restrained by their ignorance from disposing of to strangers.

Of the life led by the eleven Dutchmen who conduct this miserable trade we have already given some idea as far as relates to the island of *Dezima*. But as perpetual confinement to the surface of that diminutive breakwater will really be too tedious even for them, they have solicited and obtained permission to make occasional excursions in the vicinity of *Nangasaki*.

The way in which these rare relaxations are enjoyed is singularly characteristic and comic. When the despised captives desire to take a walk, they forward an intimation of the fact to the authorities; who, after due deliberation, consent to allow them this indulgence. It might, however, be thought derogatory to the imperial dignity if these foreign vagabonds were suffered to amuse themselves without restraint. Accordingly, it has been decreed that in their rural rambles they are always to be accompanied and watched by a host of natives, guards, interpreters, with a rabble of relatives and connections, whom the unlucky Dutchmen are condemned to entertain at their own expense; so that it becomes a more costly luxury to take a stroll than for us to enjoy a steam-voyage to Constantinople.

Still, as fresh air is a pleasant thing, and since every semblance of liberty is dear to prisoners, the Mynheers of Dezima cheerfully consent to be mulcted in order to enjoy a prospect of the country, to climb breezy hills, to recline in delicious valleys, to enter tea-houses and tea-gardens, and sip the fragrant beverage in the midst of a noisy multitude of natives, all enjoying themselves after their own way. Besides, in Japan, as everywhere else, 'a great deal may be bought for fifty louis.' Munroon makes an impression on interpreters and guards; so that it is not absolutely impossible for a member of the Dezima factory to taste occasionally a few moments of delightful solitude. The views from the mountains above Nangasaki are vast and varied—over shores, bays, promontories smiling with cultivation or clothed with woods; while the blue sea, which everywhere indents the coast, is studded with sails scudding hither and thither before the breeze.

From an excursion amidst such scenery the gentlemen of the factory return well pleased to their homes and temporary wives, and phlegmatically toil on in the pursuit of gain, till weariness or the accumulation of cash induces them once more to seek the solace of the breathing fields.

Enough, we think, has been said to give our readers some idea of the relations of Europe with Japan, as well as to shew the practicability of multiplying those relations to any extent we please. The Dutch, contented with their humiliating and degraded position, will unquestionably take no step towards throwing open the commerce of the empire to the rest of the world. Exclusion and monopoly are among the chief elements of their existence; wherever they have obtained a footing, whether in the East or in the West, their constant aim has been to shut out all others: they would rather enjoy the fewest and smallest advantages by themselves than the greatest in conjunction with their neighbours. The truth of this they have demonstrated in Sumatra, Borneo, Java, and the Moluccas. On their co-operation, therefore, we can place no reliance, but on the contrary must expect from them the steadiest and most persevering hostility.

Great Britain, however, is perfectly able to dispense with the aid of Holland, or of any other community, and has only to shew herself in a proper attitude on the shores of Japan to restore that empire to intercourse with the rest of the world. There is not the slightest probability that such an undertaking would lead to war; but should that unfortunately prove the case, we have in our power the means of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. The domestic trade of Japan is immense, and carried on chiefly by sea; so that with a few war-steamers we could put a stop at once

to all internal movement in the empire, and thus compel the government to concede to civilisation its reasonable demands.

That this plan will be denounced by the itinerant orators and agitators we take for granted, because they find it impossible to enlarge their minds so as to take in considerations of general policy. But their censure is synonymous with praise, since what they condemn all unsophisticated friends of humanity will approve. For we once more repeat, that the population of Japan, whether consisting of 30,000,000 or 40,000,000, is, with the exception of a few pedantic officials, as deeply interested in doing away with the present system of exclusion as the merchants and manufacturers of the West can be. Even should conquest follow commerce, which is by no means probable, their condition would thereby only be improved, the poverty and distress of the humbler classes in the empire being indescribable, through the interference of politics with labour, while the middle classes would be raised to a higher level than they have ever occupied. This remark, however, we only throw out by the way. In all likelihood, intercourse with Europe and America would have no other effect than to stimulate industry and better the condition of the people, which, in the end, moreover, might lead to the improvement of their social and political institutions: at all events, the advocates of education can scarcely deny that the natives of Japan would profit by the introduction of European knowledge among them; for though they cannot be regarded as mere savages, they have certainly not advanced beyond the period of barbarism, which often unites within itself all the evils and imperfections incident to human society.

THE HALF-CASTE;

AN OLD GOVERNESS'S TALE,

FOUNDED ON FACT.

‘WE know what we are, but we know not what we may be,’ as my quaintly-clever niece and namechild, Cassia, would say. And truly who could have thought that I, a plain governess, should in my old age have become writer. Yet, for the life of me, I cannot invent a plot—I must write nothing but truth. Here I pause, recollecting painfully that in my first sentence I have sinned against truth by entitling Cassia ‘my niece and namechild,’ when, strictly speaking, she is neither the one nor the other. She is no blood-relation at all, and my own name happens to be Cassandra. I always disliked it heartily until Mr Sutherland called me—— But I forget that I must explain a little.—Mr Sutherland was—no, thank Heaven!—*is*, a very good man; a friend of my late father, and of the same business—an Indian merchant. When in my twenty fifth year, my dear father died, and we were ruined—a quiet way of expressing this, but in time one learns to speak so quietly of every pang: Mr Sutherland was very kind to my mother and to me. I remember, as though it were yesterday, one day when he sat with us in our little parlour, and hearing my mother calling me ‘Cassie,’ said laughingly that I always put him in mind of a certain Indian spice. ‘In fact,’ he added, looking affectionately at my dear, gentle, little mother, and approvingly—yes, it was approvingly, at me—‘in fact, I think we three sitting thus, with myself in the centre, might be likened to myrrh, aloes, and cassia.’ One similitude was untrue; for he was not bitter, but ‘sweet as summer.’ However, from that time he always called me Cassia. I rather like the name; and latterly it was very kind of him to—— There, I am forestalling my history again!

When I was twenty-five, as I said, I first went out as a governess. This plan was the result of many consultations between my mother and myself. A hard thing was my leaving home; but I found I could thereby earn a larger and more regular salary, part of which being put by, would some time enable me to live altogether with my mother. Such were her plannings and hopes for the future. As for my own——

But it is idle to dwell upon things so long past. God knew best, and it all comes to the same at the end of life. It was through Mr Sutherland that I got my first situation. He wrote my mother a hurried letter, saying he had arranged for me to enter a family, concerning whom he would explain before my departure. But something hindered his coming: it was a public meeting, I remember; for though still a young man, he was held in much honour among the city merchants, and knew the affairs of India well from early residence there. Of course, having these duties to fulfil, it was natural he should not recollect my departure; so I started without seeing him, and without knowing more of my future abode than its name, and that of my employer. It was a Yorkshire village, and the gentleman whose family I was going to was a Mr Le Poer. My long journey was dreary—God knows how dreary! in youth one suffers so much; and parting from my mother was any time a sufficient grief. In those days railways were not numerous, and I had to journey a good way by coach. About eleven at night I found myself at my destination. At the door a maid-servant appeared; no one else: it was scarcely to be expected by 'the governess.' This was a new and sad 'coming home' to me. I was shewn to my bedroom, hearing, as I passed the landing, much rustling of dresses and 'squittling' away of little feet.—(I ought to apologise for that odd expression, which, I think, I learned when I was quite a child, and used to go angling with my father and Mr Sutherland. It means a scampering off in all directions, as a shoal of minnows do when you throw a pebble among them.)—I asked if the family were gone to bed, and was informed, 'No;' so I arranged my dress and went down stairs, unconsciously reassured by the fact, that the house was neither so large nor so aristocratic as my very liberal salary had at first inclined me to expect.

'Who shall I say, miss?' asked the rather untidy servant, meeting me in the lobby, and staring with open eyes, as if a stranger were some rare sight. 'Miss Pryor,' I said, thinking regretfully that I should be henceforth that, and not 'Cassia;' and seeing the maid still stared, I added with an effort: 'I am the new governess.' So under that double announcement I appeared at the parlour-door. The room was rather dark: there were two candles; but one had been extinguished, and was being hurriedly relighted as I entered. At first I saw nothing clearly; then I perceived a little pale lady sitting at one end of the table, and two half-grown-up girls, dressed in 'going-out-to-tea' costume, seated primly together on the sofa. There was a third; but she vanished out of the door as I entered it.

'Miss Pryor, I believe?' said a timid voice—so timid that I could hardly believe that it was a lady addressing her governess. I glanced at her: she was a little woman, with pale hair, and light eyes—frightened-looking eyes—that just rose, and fell in a minute. I said 'I was Miss Pryor, and concluded I addressed Mrs Le Poer.' She answered: 'Yes, yes;' and held out hesitatingly a thin, cold, bird-like hand, which I took rather warmly than otherwise; for I felt really sorry for her evident nervousness. It seemed so strange for anybody to be afraid of me. 'My daughters, Miss Pryor,' she then said in a louder tone. Whereupon the two girls rose, courtesied, blushed—seemingly more from awkwardness than modesty—and sat down again. I shook hands with both, trying to take the initiative, and make

myself sociable and at home—a difficult matter, my position feeling much like that of a fly in an ice-house.

‘These are my pupils then?’ said I cheerfully. ‘Which is Miss Zillah?’—for I remembered Mr Sutherland had mentioned that name in his letter, and its peculiarity naturally struck me.

The mother and daughters looked rather blankly at each other, and the former said: ‘This is Miss Le Poer and Miss Matilda: Zillah is not in the room at present.’

‘Oh, a third sister?’ I observed.

‘No, ma’am,’ rather pertly answered Miss Le Poer; ‘Zill is not our sister at all, but only a sort of a distant relation of Pa’s, whom he is very kind to and keeps at his expense, and who mends our stockings and brushes our hair of nights, and whom we are very kind to also.’

‘Oh, indeed!’ was all I said in reply to this running stream of very provincially-spoken and unpunctuated English. I was rather puzzled too; for if my memory was correct—and I generally remembered Mr Sutherland’s letters very clearly, probably because they were themselves so clear—he had particularly mentioned my future pupil Zillah Le Poer, and ~~no~~ Miss Le Poer besides. I waited with some curiosity for the girl’s reappearance; at last I ventured to say: ‘I should like to see Miss Zillah. I understood’—here I hesitated, but thought afterwards that plain speech was best—I understood from Mr Sutherland that she was to be my pupil.’

‘Of course, of course,’ hastily said the lady, and I fancied she coloured slightly. ‘Caroline, fetch your cousin.’

Caroline sulkily went out, and shortly returned followed by a girl older than herself, though clad in childish, or rather servant fashion, with short petticoats, short sleeves, and a big brown-bolland pinafore. ‘Zill wouldn’t stay to be dressed,’ explained Caroline in a loud whisper to her mother; at which Mrs Le Poer looked more nervous and uncomfortable than ever. Meanwhile I observed my pupil. I had fancied the Zillah so carefully intrusted to my care by Mr Sutherland to be a grown young lady, who only wanted ‘finishing.’ I even thought she might be a beauty. With some surprise I found her a half-caste girl—with an olive complexion, full Hindoo lips, and eyes very black and bright. She was untidily dressed; which looked the worse, since she was almost a woman; though her dull, heavy face had the stupidity of an ultra-stupid child. I saw all this; for somehow—probably because I had heard of her before—I examined the girl more than I did the two other Misses Le Poer. Zillah herself stared at me much as if I had been a wild animal, and then put her finger in her mouth with a babyish air. ‘How do you do, my dear?’ said I desperately, feeling that all four pair of family-eyes were upon me. ‘I hope we shall be good friends soon.’ And I put out my hand. At first the girl seemed not to understand that I meant to shake hands with her. Then she irresolutely poked out her brown fingers, having first taken the precaution to wipe them on her pinafore. I made another remark or two about my being her governess, and her studying with her cousins; at which she opened her large eyes with a dull amaze, but I never heard the sound of her voice.

It must have been now near twelve o’clock. I thought it odd the girls should be kept up so late; and began at last to speculate whether I was to

see Mr Le Poer. My conjectures were soon set at rest by a loud pull at the door-bell, which made Mrs Le Poer spring up from her chair, and Zillah vanish like lightning. The two others sat cowed, with their hands before them; and I myself felt none of the bravest. So upon this frightened group the master of the house walked in.

'Hollo, Mrs Le Poer! Cary! Zill, you fool! Confound it, where's the supper?' (I might have asked that too, being very hungry.) 'What the deuce are you all about?'

'My dear!' whispered the wife beseechingly, as she met him at the door, and seemed pointing to me.

Certainly I could not have believed that the voice just heard belonged to the gentleman who now entered. The *gentleman*, I repeat; for I never saw one who more thoroughly looked the character. He was about fifty, very handsome, very well dressed—his whole mien bespeaking that stately, gracious courtliness which now, except in rare instances, belongs to a past age. Bowing, he examined me curiously, with a look that somehow or other made me uncomfortable. He seemed viewing over my feminine attractions as a horse-dealer does the points of a new bargain. But soon the interest of the look died away. I knew he considered me as all others did—a very plain and shy young woman, perhaps lady-like (I believe I was that, for I heard of some one saying so), but nothing more. 'I have the pleasure of meeting Miss Pryor?' said he in an ultra-blond tone, which after his first coarse manner would have positively startled me, had I not always noticed that the two are often combined in the same individual. (I always distrust a man who speaks in a very mild, measured, womanish voice.) I mentioned the name of his friend Mr Sutherland. 'Oh, I recollect,' said he stiffly: 'Mr Sutherland informed you that—that'—He evidently wished to find out exactly what I knew of himself and his family. Now, it being always my habit to speak the plain truth, I saw no reason why I should not gratify him; so I stated the simple facts of our friend's letter to my mother—that he had found for me a situation in the family of a Mr Le Poer, and had particularly charged me with completing the education of Miss Zillah Le Poer. 'Oh!' said Mr Le Poer abruptly; 'were those all your instructions, my dear Miss Pryor?' he added insinuatingly. I answered that I knew no more, having missed seeing Mr Sutherland before I came away. 'Then you come quite a stranger into my family? I hope you have received the hearty welcome a stranger should receive, and I trust you will soon cease to merit that name.' So saying, he graciously touched the tips of my fingers, and in mellifluous tones ordered supper, gently reproaching his wife for having delayed that meal. 'You know, my dear, it was needless to wait for me; and Miss Pryor must be needing refreshment.'

Indeed I was so, being literally famished. The meal was ordinary enough—mere bread, butter, and cheese; but Mr Le Poer did the honours with most gentlemanly courtesy. I thought, never did a poor governess meet with such attention. The girls did not sup with us: they had taken the earliest opportunity of disappearing; nor was the half-caste cousin again visible. We had soon done eating—that is, Mrs Le Poer and I; for the gentleman seemed so indifferent to the very moderate attractions of his

table, that from this fact, and from a certain redness of his eyes, I could not help suspecting he had well supped before. Still, that did not prevent his asking for wine; and having politely drank with me, he composed himself to have a little confidential talk while he finished the decanter.

'Miss Pryor, do you correspond with Mr Sutherland?'

The abruptness of his question startled me. I felt my cheeks tingling, as I answered most truthfully: 'No.'

'Still you are a dear and valued friend of his, he tells me.'

I felt glad, so glad that I forgot to make the due answer about Mr. Sutherland's being 'very kind.'

My host had probably gained the information he wanted, and became communicative on his part. 'I ought, my dear young lady, to explain a few things concerning your pupils, which have been thus accidentally omitted by my friend Mr Sutherland, who could not better have acceded to my request than by sending a lady like yourself to instruct my family.' Here he bowed and I bowed. We did a great deal in that way of dumb civility, as it saved him trouble and me words. 'My daughters you have seen. They are, I believe, tolerably well-informed for such mere children.' I wondered if I had rightly judged them at thirteen and fourteen. 'My only trouble, Miss Pryor, is concerning my niece.' Here I looked surprised, not suspecting Zillah to be so near a relative. 'I call her niece through habit, and for the sake of her father, my poor deceased brother,' continued Mr Le Poer, with a lengthened and martyr-like visage; 'but in truth she has no real claim to belong to my family. My brother—sad fellow always—Indian life not overscrupulous—ties between natives and Europeans: in fact, my dear Miss Pryor, Zillah's mother—' 'You understand?' Ignorant as I was, I did dimly understand, coloured deeply, and was silent. In the unpleasant pause which ensued I noticed that Mrs Le Poer had let her knitting fall, and sat gazing on her husband with a blank, horrified look, until he called her to order by an impressive 'A little more wine, my dear?' Her head sunk with an alarmed gesture, and her lord and master continued addressing me. 'Of course this explanation is in strict confidence. Regard for my brother's memory induces me to keep the secret, and to bring up this girl exactly as my own—except,' he added, recollecting himself, 'with a slight, indeed a necessary difference. Therefore you will educate them all alike; at least so far as Zillah's small capacity allows. I believe'—and he smiled sarcastically—'her modicum of intellect is not greater than generally belongs to her mother's race. She would make an excellent *ayah*, and that is all.'

'Poor thing!' I thought, not inclined to despise her even after this information; how could I, when— Now that fairly nonplussed me: what made the girl an object of interest to Mr Sutherland? and why did he mention her as Miss Zillah Le Poer when she could legally have no right to the name? I should, in my straightforward way, have asked the question, but Mr Le Poer's manner shewed that he wished no more conversation. He hinted something about my fatigue, and the advisability of retiring; nay, even lighted my candle for me, and dismissed his wife and myself with an air so pleasant and gracious, that I thought I had scarcely ever seen such a perfect gentleman.

Mrs Le Poer preceded me up stairs to my room, bade me good-night, asked timidly, but kindly, if all was to my liking, and if I would take anything more—seemed half-inclined to say something else, and then, hearing her husband's voice, instantaneously disappeared.

I was at last alone. I sat thinking over this strange evening—so strange, that it kept my thoughts from immediately flying where I had supposed they were sure to fly. During my cogitations there came a knock to the door, and on my answering it, a voice spoke without, in a dull, sullen tone, and an accent slightly foreign and broken: 'Please, do you want to be called to-morrow, and will you have any hot water?' I opened the door at once to Zillah. 'Is it you, my dear? Come in and say good-night to me.' The girl entered with the air and manner of a servant, except for a certain desperate sullenness. I took her hand, and thanked her for coming to see after my comforts. She looked thoroughly astonished; but still, as I went on talking, began to watch me with more interest. Once she even smiled, which threw a soft expression over her mouth. I cannot tell what reason I had—whether from a mere impulse of kindness, with which my own state of desolation had something to do, or whether I compelled myself from a sense of duty to take all means of making a good first impression on the girl's feelings—but when I bade Zillah good-night, I leaned forward and just touched her brown cheek with mine—French fashion; for I could not really *kiss* anybody except for love. I never saw a creature so utterly amazed! She might have never received that token of affection since her birth. She muttered a few unintelligible words—I fancy they were in Hindostanee—flung herself before me, Eastern fashion, and my poor hand was kissed passionately, weepingly, as the beloved ladies' hands are in novels and romances.—But mine was never kissed save by this poor child! All passed in a moment, and I had hardly recovered my first surprise when Zillah was gone. I sat a little while, feeling as strange as if I had suddenly become the heroine of a fairy tale; then caught a vision of my own known self, with my pale, tired face, and sad-coloured gown. It soon brought me back to the realities of life, and to the fact that I was now 200 miles away from my mother and from—London.

I had not been three weeks resident in the Le Poer family, before I discovered that if out of the domestic mysteries into which I became gradually initiated I could create any fairy tale, it would certainly be that of 'Cinderella;' but my poor Cinderella had all the troubles of her prototype without any of the graces either of mind or person. It is a great mistake to suppose that every victim of tyranny must of necessity be an angel. On most qualities of mind oppression has exactly the opposite effect. It dulls the faculties, stupifies the instinctive sense of right, and makes the most awful havoc among the natural affections. I was often forced to doubt whether Mr Le Poer was very far wrong when he called Zillah by his favourite name of the 'ugly little devil.' There was something quite demoniac in her black eyes at times. She was lazy too—full of the languor of her native clime. Neither threats nor punishments could rouse her into the slightest activity. The only person to whom she paid the least attention was Mrs Le Poer, who alone never ill-used her. Poor lady! she was too broken-spirited to ill-use anybody; but she never praised. I do not think Zillah had heard the common civility, 'Thank

you,' until I came into the house; since, when I uttered it, she seemed scarcely to believe her ears. When she first joined us in the school-room I found the girl was very ignorant. Her youngest cousin was far before her even in the commonest knowledge; and, as in all cases of deadened intellect, it cost her incalculable trouble to learn the simplest things. I took infinite pains with her, ay, and felt in her a strong interest too—ten times stronger than in the other two; yet for weeks she seemed scarcely to have advanced at all. To be sure it must be taken into account that she was rarely suffered to remain with me half the school-hours without being summoned to some menial duty or other; and the one maid-servant bestowed on me many black looks, as being the cause why she herself had sometimes to do a morning's household work alone. Often I puzzled myself in seeing how strangely incompatible was Zillah's position with Mr Sutherland's expressed desire concerning her. Sometimes I thought I would write and explain all to him; but I did not like. Nor did I tell my mother half the *désagréments* and odd things belonging to this family—considering that such reticence even towards her nearest kindred is every governess's duty. In all domestic circles there must be a little Eleusinia, the secrets of which chance observers should strictly keep.

More than once I determined to take advantage of the very polite and sociable terms which Mr Le Poer and myself were on, to speak to him on the subject, and argue that his benevolence in adopting his brother's unfortunate child might not suffer by being testified in a more complete and gracious form. But he was so little at home—and no wonder; for the miserably dull, secluded, and painfully-economical way in which they lived could have little charms for a man of fashion and talent, or at least the relics of such, which he evidently was. And so agreeable as he could be! His conversation at meals—the only time I ever saw him—was a positive relief from the dull blank, broken only by the girls' squabbles and their mother's faint remonstrances and complaints. But whenever, by dint of great courage, I contrived to bring Zillah's name on the tapis, he always so adroitly crept out of the subject, without pointedly changing it, that afterwards I used to wonder how I had contrived to forget my purpose, and leave matters as they were. The next scheme I tried was one which, in many family jars and family bitternesses among which my calling has placed me, I have found to answer amazingly well. It is my maxim that 'a wrong is seldom a one-sided wrong;' and when you cannot amend one party, the next best thing is to try the other. I always had a doctrine likewise, that it is only those who have the instinct and the sins of servitude who will hopelessly remain oppressed. I determined to try if there was anything in Zillah's mind or disposition that could be awakened, so as to render her worthy of a higher position than that she held. And as my firm belief is, that everything and everybody in time rise or sink to their own proper level, so I felt convinced that if there were any superiority in Zillah's character all the tyranny in the world would not keep her the pitiable Cinderella of such ordinary people as the Le Poers. I began my system by teaching her, not in public, where she was exposed to the silent but not less apparent contempt of her cousins, but at night in my own room after all the house had retired. I made this hour as little like lessons as possible, by letting

her sit and work with me, or brush my hair, teaching her orally the while. As much as her reserve permitted, I lured her into conversation on every indifferent subject. All I wanted was to get at the girl's heart. One day I was lecturing her in a quiet way on the subject concerning which she was the first young woman I ever knew that needed lecturing—care over her personal appearance. She certainly was the most slovenly girl I ever saw. Poor thing! she had many excuses; for though the whole family dressed shabbily, and, worse—tawdrily, her clothes were the worst of all. Still, nothing but positive rags can excuse a woman for neglecting womanly neatness. I often urged despairingly upon poor Zillah that the meanest frock was no apology for untidy hair; that the most unpleasant work did not exclude the possibility of making face and hands clean after it was over. 'Look at yours, my dear,' said I once, taking the reluctant fingers and spreading them out on mine. Then I saw what I have often noticed in the Hindoo race, how delicate her hands were naturally, even despite her hard servant's-work. I told her so; for in a creature so crushed there was little fear of vanity, and I made it a point to praise her every good quality, personal and mental.

Zillah looked pleased. 'My hands are like my mother's, who was very handsome, and a Parsee.'

'Do you remember her?'

'A little, not much; and chiefly her hands, which were covered with rings. One, a great diamond, was worth ever so many hundred rupees. It was lost once, and my mother cried. I saw it, a good while after, on my father's finger when he was dying,' continued she carelessly; and afterwards added mysteriously: 'I think he stole it.'

'Hush, child! hush! It is wrong to speak so of a dead father,' cried I, much shocked.

'Is it? Well, I'll not do it if it vexes you, Miss Pryor.'

This seemed her only consciousness of right and wrong—pleasing or displeasing me. At all events it argued well for my influence over her and her power of being guided by the affections. I asked again about her father; somehow, with a feminine prejudice, natural though scarcely right, I felt a delicacy in mentioning the mother. But she was the only parent of whom Zillah would speak. 'I hardly know,' 'I can't remember,' 'I don't care,' were all the answers my questions won. 'You saw your father when he was dying?' I persisted: 'an awful sight it must have been.' Zillah shuddered at the recollection. 'What did he say to you?'

'I don't remember, except that I was like my mother. All the rest was swearing, as uncle swears at me. But uncle did not do it then.'

'So Mr Le Poer was present?'

'Yes; and the ugly, horrible-looking man they said was my father talked to him in whispers, and uncle took me on his knee, and called me "My dear." He never did it afterwards.'

I asked her one question more—'How long was this ago?' and she said, 'Several years; she did not recollect how many.'

I talked to her no more that night, but bade her go to rest. In fact my mind was so full of her that I was glad to get her visible self out of the way. She went, lazily and stupidly as ever. Only at the door she paused. 'You won't tell what I have been saying, Miss Pryor?—You'll

not mention my mother before them? I did once; and they laughed and made game of her, 'uncle and all. They did—they'—— She stopped, literally foaming at the mouth with rage.

'Come in again; do, my poor child,' said I, gently approaching. But she shut the door hurriedly, and ran down stairs to the kitchen, where she slept with her dire enemy, yet sole companion, the servant-maid.

Six months after my coming to the Le Poers I began heartily to wish for some of my salary; not that I had any doubt of it—Mr Sutherland had said it was sure—but I wanted some replenishment of my wardrobe, and besides it was near my mother's birthday, when I always took care she had some nice useful gift. It quite puzzled me to think what little luxury she wanted, for she wrote me word Mr Sutherland brought her so many.—'He was just like a son to her,' she said.—Ah me!—One day, when disconsolately examining my last pair of boots—the 'wee boots,' that for a foolish reason I had, were one of my few feminine vanities—I took courage to go down stairs and ask Mr Le Poer 'if he could make it convenient,' &c. &c. 'My dear Miss Pryor,' said he with most gentlemanly *empressment*, 'if I had thought—indeed you should have asked me before. Let me see, you have been here six months, and our stipulated sum was'—— I thought he hesitated on account of the delicacy some gentlemen feel in business-dealings with a lady; indeed I supposed it was from that cause he had never spoken to me about money-matters. However, I felt no such delicacy, but answered plainly: 'My salary, Mr Sutherland said, was to be 100 guineas a year.' 'Exactly so; and payable yearly, I believe?' Mr Le Poer added carelessly. Now, I had not remembered that, but of course he knew. However, I looked and felt disappointed. At last, as Mr Le Poer spoke with the kindest politeness, I confessed the fact that I wanted the money for habiliments. 'Oh, is that all? Then pray, my excellent young lady, go with Caroline to H—— at once. Order anything you like of my trades-people. Bid them put all to my account: we can settle afterwards. No excuses; indeed you must.' He bowed me away with the air of a benefactor disdaining gratitude, and set off immediately on one of his frequent jaunts. There was no help for it; so I accepted his plan, and went to H—— with Caroline and Matilda.

It seemed a long time since I had been in any town, and the girls might never have been there in their lives, so eagerly did they linger at shop-windows, admiring and longing after finery. The younger consoled the elder, saying that they would have all these sort of grand things some time. 'It's only four years,' whispered she—'just four years, and then that stupid Zill'—— Here Caroline pushed her back with an angry 'hush!' and walked up to my side with a prim smile. I thought it strange, but took no notice, always disliking to play the governess out of school-hours.

Another odd thing happened the same week. There came a letter to Mr Le Poer from Mr Sutherland. I could not help noticing this, as it lay on the mantel-shelf two days before the former returned, and I used to see it always when I sat at meals. His—Mr Sutherland's I mean—was a fair large hand, too, which would have caught any one's eye: it was like old times to see it again. I happened to be by when Mr Le Poer opened the letter. He was so anxious over it that he did not notice my presence.

Perhaps it was wrong of me to glance toward him, but yet natural, considering it was a friend's letter. I saw a little note enclosed, the address of which, I was almost sure, bore my own name. I waited, thinking he would give it me. I even made some slight movement to attract his attention. He looked up—he actually started—but next moment smiled as only Mr Le Poer could smile. 'News from our friend, you see!' said he, shewing me the outside envelope. 'He is quite well, and—let me consider'—glancing over his own letter—'he sends his kindest remembrances to you. A most worthy man is Mr Sutherland.' So saying he folded the epistle, and placed it in his desk. The little note, which he had turned seal uppermost, he quietly put, unopened, into his pocket. It must have been my own delusion then.—Not the first, nor yet the last!

At the expiration of my first year as a governess, just as I was looking with untold eagerness to my midsummer holidays, when I was at length to go home to my mother—for the journey to London was too expensive to admit of that happiness more than once a year—there happened a great disaster to the Le Poer family: no less than that terrible scourge, typhus fever. Matilda took it first, then Caroline, then the mother. These three were scarcely convalescent when Zillah caught the fever in her turn, and had it more dangerously than any of the rest. Her life was in danger for many days, during which I had the sole anxiety and responsibility; for Mr Le Poer, on the first tidings of the fever, had taken flight, and been visible at home no more. True, he wrote every other day most touching letters, and I in return kept him constantly informed as to the progress of his wife and children. When Zillah was taken ill, however, I did not think it necessary to send him word concerning her, feeling that the poor orphan's life was precious to no one. I never was more surprised than when on Mr Le Poer's venturing back and finding Zillah in the crisis of her disease, his terror and anxiety appeared uncontrollable. 'Good God!' he cried, 'Zillah ill? Zillah going to die? Impossible! Why was I not informed before? Confound you, madam'—and he turned furiously to his still ailing wife—'did you not think?—Are you mad—quite mad?'

I declare I thought *he* was. Mrs Le Poer only sobbed in silence. Meanwhile the outcries of the delirious girl were heard in the very parlour. I had given her my room; I thought, poor soul, she should not die in her damp kitchen-closet.

Mr Le Poer turned absolutely white with terror—he, who had expressed only mild concern when his wife and daughters were in peril. 'Miss Pryor,' said he hoarsely, 'something must be done. That girl *must* be saved; I'd snatch her from the very fiend himself! Send for advice, physicians, nurses; send to Leeds, Liverpool—to London even. Only, by —, she must not die!'

Poor Zillah did not die. She was saved for Heaven's strange purposes; though I, in my then blindness, often and often, while sitting by her bedside, thought it would be better did she slip quietly out of the bitter world in which she seemed to be only an unsightly and trampled weed. Mr Le Poer's unwonted anxiety did not end with her convalescence, which was very slow. 'She may die yet!' I heard him muttering to himself the first day after he saw his niece. 'Miss Pryor, my wife is a fool—I

mean, a rather undecided person. Tell me what you think ought to be done for Zillah's recovery?' I prescribed, but with little hope that my advice would be followed—immediate change to sea air. 'It shall be done!' at once said he. 'Mrs Le Poer and the girls can take care of her; or stay—she likes you best. Miss Pryor, are you willing to go?'

This question perfectly confounded me. I had been so longingly anticipating my going home—delayed, as in common charity I could not but delay it, on account of the fever. Now this trouble was over I had quite counted on my departure. That very week I had been preparing my small wardrobe, so as to look as nice as possible in my mother's eyes. She had given me a hint to do so, since she and I were to spend the vacation together at Mr Sutherland's country-house, and old Mrs Sutherland was so very particular.—'Why do you hesitate?' said Mr Le Poer rather sharply. 'Are you thinking of the money? You shall have any additional salary—£50 more if you choose. Upon my soul, madam, you shall! only I entreat you to go.' I would not have minded his entreaties, but I was touched by those of Zillah, who seemed terrified at the idea of going to a strange place without me. Then, too, the additional money, not unneeded; for Mr Sutherland, so kindly generous in other things, had the still rarer generosity never to offer us *that*. I determined to write and tell my mother the position of affairs. Her good judgment would decide, or if hers failed, she would be sure to appeal to her trusty and only adviser since my father died; and I was content to abide by *his* decision. He did decide. He told my mother that it was his earnest wish I should stay a little longer with Zillah Le Poer, whom he called 'his ward.' Her history, he said, he would inform me of when we met, which must be ere-long, as he was contemplating returning to India for some years.

Mr Sutherland returning to India! And before his departure he must see me—me! It was a very simple and natural thing, as I felt afterwards, but not then. I did what he desired—as indeed I had long been in the habit of doing—and accompanied Zillah.

I had supposed that we should go to some near watering-place, or at all events to the Liverpool shore. Indeed I had pointedly recommended Tranmere, where, as I stated to Mr Le Poer, there was living an aunt of Mr Sutherland's, who would have taken lodgings or done anything in her power for her nephew's ward. To my surprise he gently objected to this plan. After staying a night in Liverpool, instead of crossing to the opposite shore, as I expected, he put us all—that is, Zillah, the two other girls, and myself—on board the Belfast boat, and there we found ourselves floating across the Irish Channel! The two Misses Le Poer were considerably frightened; Zillah looked most happy. She said it reminded her of her voyage to England when she was a little child. She had never seen the sea since. Long after we got out of sight of land she and I sat together on the deck in the calm summer evening, talking of this Indian voyage, and what it was like, and what people did during the long four months from land to land. She gave me much information, to which I listened with strange interest. I well remember, fool that I was! sitting on the deck of that Belfast boat, with the sun dipping into the sea before us, and the moon rising on the other side—sitting and thinking what it would be to feel one's self on the deck of some Indian-bound ship, alone,

or else in companionship that might make the word still correct, according to its original reading—all one; an etymological notion worthy of a governess!

The only remarkable event of our voyage was my sudden introduction by Mr Le Poer to a personage whom I had not thought existed. 'My son, Miss Pryor; my eldest and only son, Lieutenant Augustus Le Poer.' I was very considerably surprised, as I had never heard of the young gentleman. I could only hurriedly conjecture; what I afterwards found to be the truth, that this was the son of a former marriage, and that there had been some family quarrel, lately healed. The lieutenant bowed to me, and I to him. Zillah, who sat by me, had no share in the introduction, until the young man, sticking his glass into his eye, stared at her energetically, muttering to his father some question, in which I just detected the words, 'odd fish.' 'Only Zillah,' answered Mr Le Poer carelessly. 'Child, this is your cousin Augustus, lately returned from foreign service. Shake hands with him.' Zillah listlessly obeyed; but her 'cousin' seemed not at all to relish the title. He cast his eyes superciliously over her. I must confess my poor child's appearance was not very attractive. I did not wonder that Lieutenant Augustus merely nodded his head, twirled his moustache, and walked away. Zillah just looked lazily after him, and then her eyes declined upon the beautiful expanse of sea.

For my part I watched our new friend with some curiosity and amusement, especially when Caroline and Matilda appeared, trying to do the agreeable. The lieutenant was to them evidently the *beau-ideal* of a brother. For myself, I did not admire him at all. Unluckily, if I have three positive aversions in the world, it is for dandies, men with moustaches, and soldiers—and he was a compound of all three. Also, he was a small man; and I, like most little women, have a great reverence for height in the other sex—not universally, for some of my truest friends have been diminutive men—excellent, worthy, admirable *Zaccheuses*. Still, from an ancient prejudice, acquired—no matter how—my first impression, of any man is usually in proportion to his inches: therefore Lieutenant Le Poer did not stand very high in my estimation.

Little notice did he condescend to take of us, which was rather a satisfaction than otherwise; but he soon became very fraternal and confidential with his two sisters. I saw them all chattering together until it grew dusk; and long after that, the night being fine, I watched their dark figures walking up and down the other side of the deck. More than once I heard their laughter, and detected in their talk the name of Zillah; so I supposed the girls were ridiculing her to their brother. Poor child! she was fast asleep, with her head on my shoulder, wrapped closely up, so that the mild night could do her no harm. She looked almost pretty—the light of the August moon so spiritualised her face. I felt thankful she had not died, but that, under Heaven, my care had saved her—for what? Ay, for what? If, as I kissed the child, I had then known—But no, I should have kissed her still!

Our brief voyage ended, we reached Belfast and proceeded to Holywood—a small sea-bathing village a few miles down the coast. To this day I have never found out why Mr Le Poer took the trouble to bring us all over the water and settle us there; where, to all intents and purposes,

we might as well have been buried in the solitudes of the Desert of Sahara. But perhaps that was exactly what he wanted.

I think that never in her life, at least since childhood, could Zillah have been so happy as she was during the first week or two of our sojourn at Holywood. To me, who in my youth, when we were rich and could travel, had seen much beautiful scenery, the place was rather uninteresting; to her it was perfection! As she grew stronger life seemed to return to her again under quite a new aspect. To be sure, it was a great change in her existence to have no one over her but me—for her uncle and cousin Augustus had of course speedily vanished from this quiet spot—to be able to do just what she liked, which was usually nothing at all. She certainly was not made for activity; she would lie whole days on the beach, or on the grassy walk which came down to the very edge of high-water-mark—covering her eyes with her poke-bonnet, or gazing sleepily from under her black lashes at the smooth Lough, and the wavy line of hills on the opposite shore. Matilda and Caroline ran very wild too: since we had no lessons I found it hard work to make them obey me at all; indeed it was always a great pain for a quiet soul like me to have to assume authority. I should have got on better even with Mrs Le Poer to assist me; but she, poor little woman, terrified at change, had preferred staying quietly at home in Yorkshire. I was not quite sure but that she had the best of it after all.

In the course of a week, my cares were somewhat lightened. The lieutenant reappeared, and from that time forward I had very little of the girls' company. He was certainly a kind brother; I could not but acknowledge that. He took them about a great deal, or else stayed at Holywood, leaving us by the late evening train, as he said, to go to his lodgings at Belfast. I, the temporary mistress of the establishment, was of course quite polite to my pupils' brother, and he was really very civil to me, though he treated me with the distance due to an ancient duenna. This amused me sometimes, seeing I was only twenty-six—probably his own age; but I was always used to be regarded as an old-maid. Of Zillah the lieutenant hardly ever took any notice at all, and she seemed to keep out of his way as much as possible. When he left us in the evening—and there was always a tolerable confusion at that time, his two sisters wanting to see him off by the train, which he never by any chance allowed—then came the quietest and pleasantest half-hour of the day. The Misses Le Poer disliked twilight rambles, so Zillah and I always set off together. Though oftentimes we parted company, and I was left sitting on the beach, while she strolled on to a pleasant walk she said she had found—a deserted house, whose grounds sloped down to the very shore. But I, not very strong then, and weighed down by many anxious thoughts, loved better to sit and stupify myself with the murmur of the sea—a habit not good for me, but pleasant. No fear had I of Zillah's losing herself, or coming to any harm; and the girl seemed so happy in her solitary rambles that I had not the desire to stop them, knowing how a habit of self-dependence is the greatest comfort to a woman, especially to one in her desolate position. But though, as her nature woke up, and her dulness was melting away, Zillah seemed more *self-contained*, so to speak; more reserved, and relying on her own thoughts for occupation and amusement,

still she had never been so attentive or affectionate to me. It was a curious and interesting study—this young mind's unfolding, though I shame to say that just then I did not think about Zillah as much as I ought to have done. Often I reproached myself for this afterwards; but, as things turned out, I now feel, with a quiet self-compassion, that my error was pardonable.

I mind one evening—now *I mind* is not quite English, but I learned it, with other Scottish phrases, in my young days, so let it stand!—I mind one evening, that, being not quite in a mood to keep my own company, I went out walking with Zillah; somehow the noise of the sea wearied me, and unconsciously I turned through the village and along the highroad—almost like an English road, so beautiful with overhanging trees. I did not talk much, and Zillah walked quite silently, which indeed was nothing new. I think I see her now, floating along with her thin but lithe figure, and limp, clinging dress—the very antipodes of fashion—nothing about her that would really be called beautiful except her great eyes, that were perfect oceans of light. When we came to a gateway—which, like most things in poor Ireland, seemed either broken down or left half-finished—she looked round rather anxiously.

'Do you know this, my dear?'

'It is an old mansion—a place I often like to stroll in.'

'What! have you been there alone?'

'Of course I have,' said she quickly, and slightly colouring. 'You knew it: or I thought you did.'

She appeared apprehensive of reproof, which struck me as odd in so inoffensive a matter, especially as I was anything but a cross governess. To please and reassure her I said: 'Well, never mind, my dear; you shall show me your pet paradise. It will be quite a treat.'

'I don't think so, Miss Pryor. It's all weeds and disorder, and you can't endure that. And the ground is very wet here and there. I am sure you'll not like it at all.'

'Oh, but I will, if only to please you, Zillah,' said I, determined to be at once firm and pacific—for I saw a trace of her old sullen look troubling my pupil's face, as if she did not like her haunts to be intruded upon even by me. However she made no mere open opposition, and we entered the grounds, which were almost English in their aspect, except in one thing—their entire desolation. The house might not have been inhabited, or the grounds cultivated, for twenty years. The rose-beds grew wild—great patches of white clover overspread the lawn and flower-garden, and all the underwood was one mass of tall fern.

I had not gone far in and out of the tangled walks of the shrubbery when I found that Zillah had slipped away. I saw her at a distance standing under a tall Portugal laurel seemingly doing nothing but meditate—a new occupation for her, so I left her to it, and penetrated deeper in what my old French governess would have called the *bocage*. My feet sunk deep in fern, amidst which I plunged, trying to gather a great armful of that and of wild-flowers; for I had, and have still, the babyish propensity of wishing to pluck everything I see, and never can conquer the delight I feel in losing myself in a wilderness of vegetation. In that oblivion of childlike content I was happy—happier than I had been for a long time. The ferns nearly hid me, when I heard a stirring in the

bushes behind, which I took for some harmless animal that I had disturbed. However, hares, foxes, or even squirrels, do not usually give a loud 'Ahem!' in the perfectly human tone which followed. At first I had terrors of some stray keeper, who might possibly shoot me for a rabbit or a poacher, till I recollected that I was not in England but in Ireland, where unjust landlords are regarded as the more convenient game.

'Ahem!' reiterated the mysterious voice—'ahem! Is it you, my angel?' Never could any poor governess be more thoroughly dumb-founded. Of course the adjective was not meant for me. Impossible! Still it was unpleasant to come into such near contact with a case of philandering. Mere philandering it must be, for this was no village-tyrste, the man's accent being refined and quite English. Besides, little as I knew of love-making, it struck me that in any serious attachment people would never address one another by the silly title of 'my angel.' It must be some idle flirtation going on among the strolling visitants whom we occasionally met on the beach, and who had probably wandered up through the gate which led to these grounds. To put an end to any more confidential disclosures from this unseen gentleman, I likewise said 'Ahem!' as loud as I could, and immediately called out for Zillah. Whereupon there was a hasty rustling in the bushes, which, however, soon subsided, and the place became quite still again, without my ever having caught sight of the very complimentary individual who had in this extempore manner addressed me as his 'angel.' 'Certainly,' I thought, 'I must have been as invisible to him as he to me, or he never would have done it.'

Zillah joined me quickly. She looked half-frightened, and said she feared something was the matter: had I seen anything? At first I was on the point of telling her all, but somehow it now appeared a rather ridiculous position for a governess to be placed in—to have shouted for assistance on being addressed by mistake by an unknown admirer, and besides I did not wish to put any love-notions into the girl's head: they come quite soon enough of their own accord. So I merely said I had been startled by hearing voices in the bushes—that perhaps we were intruders on the domain, and had better not stay longer. 'Yet the place seems quite retired and desolate,' said I to Zillah as we walked down the tangled walk that led to the beach, she evidently rather unwilling to go home. 'Do you ever meet any strangers about here?'

She answered briefly: 'No.'

'Did you see any one to-night?'

'Yes'—given with a slight hesitation.

'Who was it?'

'A man, I think—at a distance.'

'Did he speak to you?'

'No.'

I give these questions and answers verbatim, to shew—what I believed then, and believe now—that, so far as I questioned, Zillah answered truthfully. I should be very sorry to think that either at that time or any other she had told me a wilful lie. But this adventure left an uncomfortable sensation on my mind—not from any doubt of Zillah herself, for I thought her still too much of a child, and, in plain words, too awkward

and unattractive to fear her engaging in love-affairs, clandestine or otherwise, for some time to come. Nevertheless, after this evening, I always contrived that we should take our twilight strolls in company, and that I should never lose sight of her for more than a few minutes together. Yet even with this precaution I proved to be a very simple and short-sighted governess after all.

We had been at Holywood a whole month, and I began to wonder when we should return home, as Zillah was quite well, indeed more blooming than I had ever seen her. Mr Le Poer made himself visible once or twice, at rare intervals: he had always 'business in Dublin,' or 'country-visits to pay.' His son acted as regent in his absence—I always supposed by his desire; nevertheless I often noticed that these two lights of the family never shone together, and the father's expected arrival was the signal of Mr Augustus's non-appearance for some days. Nor did the girls ever allude to their brother. I thought family quarrels might perhaps have lessened them in this, and so was not surprised. It was certainly a relief to all when the head of the family again departed. We usually kept his letters for him, he not being very anxious about them, for which indifference, as I afterwards comprehended, he might have good reasons. Once there came a letter—I knew from whom—marked in the corner, '*If absent, to be opened by Miss Pryor.*' Greatly surprised was I to find it contained a bank-note, apparently hurriedly enclosed, with this brief line: 'If Zillah requires more, let me know at once. She must have every luxury needful for her health.—A. S.' The initials meant certainly his name—Andrew Sutherland—nor could I be mistaken in the hand. Yet it seemed very odd, as I had no idea that he held over her more than a nominal guardianship, just undertaken out of charity to the orphan, and from his having slightly known her father. At least so Mr Le Poer told me. The only solution I could find was the simple one of this being a gift springing from the generosity of a heart whose goodness I knew but too well. However, to be quite sure, I called Caroline into counsel, thinking, silly as she was, she might know something of the matter. But she only tittered, looked mysteriously important, and would speak clearly on nothing, except that we had a perfect right to use the money—Pa always did; and that she wanted a new bonnet very badly indeed. A day or two after, Mr Le Poer, returning unexpectedly, took the note into his own possession, saying smilingly, 'That it was all right;' and I heard no more. But if I had not been the very simplest woman in the world I should have certainly suspected that things were not 'all right.' Nevertheless, I do not now wonder at my blindness. How could I think otherwise than well of a man whom I innocently supposed to be a friend of Mr Sutherland?

'Zillah, my dear, do not look so disappointed. There is no help for it. Your uncle told me before he left us that we must go home next week.' So said I, trying to say it gently, and not marvelling that the girl was unhappy at the near prospect of returning to her old miserable life. It was a future so bitter that I almost blamed myself for not having urged our longer stay. Still, human nature is weak, and I did so thirst for home—my own home. But it was hard that my pleasure should be the poor child's pain. 'Don't cry, my love,' I went on, seeing her eyes brimming, and the colour coming and going in her face—strange changes which latterly, on the

most trifling occasions, had disturbed the apparent stolidity of her manner. 'Don't be unhappy: things may be smoother now; and I am sure your cousins behave better and kinder to you than they did; even the lieutenant is very civil to you.' A sparkle, which was either pleasure or pride, flashed from the girl's eyes, and then they drooped, unable to meet mine. 'Be content, dear child; all may be happier than you expect. You must write to me regularly—you can write pretty well now, you know: you must tell me all that happens to you, and remember that in everything you can trust me entirely.' Here I was astonished by Zillah's casting herself at my knees as I sat, and bursting into a storm of tears. Anxiously I asked her what was the matter.

'Nothing—everything! I am so happy—so wretched! Ah! what must I do?'

These words bubbled up brokenly from her lips, but just at that unlucky moment her three cousins came in. She sprang up like a frightened deer, and was off to her own room. I did not see her again all the afternoon, for Lieutenant Augustus kept me in the parlour on one excuse or another until I was heartily vexed at him and myself. When I went up stairs to put on my bonnet—we were all going to walk that evening—Zillah slipped away almost as soon as I appeared. I noticed that she was quite composed now, and had resumed her usual manner. I called after her to tell the two other girls to get ready, thinking it wisest to make no remarks concerning her excitement of the morning.

I never take long in dressing, and soon went down, rather quietly perhaps; for I was meditating with pain on how much this passionate child might yet have to suffer in the world. I believe I have rather a light step; at all events I was once told so. Certainly I did not intend to come into the parlour stealthily or pryingly; in fact, I never thought of its occupants at all. On entering, what was my amazement to see standing at the window—Lieutenant Augustus and—my Zillah! He was embracing—in plain English, kissing her. Now, I am no prude; I have sometimes known a harmless father-like or brother-like embrace pass between two, who, quite certain of each other's feelings, gave and received the same in all frankness and simplicity. But generally I am very particular, more so than most women. I often used to think that, were I a man, I would wish, in the sweet day of my betrothal, to know for certain that mine was the first *lover's* kiss ever pressed on the dear lips which I then sealed as wholly my own. But in this case, at one glance, even if I had not caught the silly phrase, 'My angel!'—the same I heard in the wood (ah, that wood!)—I or any one would have detected the truth. It came upon me like a thunderbolt; but knowing Zillah's disposition, I had just wit enough to glide back unseen, and re-enter, talking loudly at the door. Upon which I found the lieutenant tapping his boots carelessly, and Zillah shrinking into a corner like a frightened hare. He went off very soon—he said, to an engagement at Belfast; and we started for our ramble. I noticed that Zillah walked alongside of Caroline, as if she could not approach or look at me.

I know not whether I was most shocked at her, or puzzled to think what possible attraction this young man could find in such a mere child—so plain and awkward-looking too. That he could be 'in love' with her, even

in the lowest sense of that phrase, seemed all but an impossibility; and if not in love, what possible purpose could he have in wooing or wanting to marry her?—for I was simple enough to suppose that all wooing must necessarily be in earnest.

Half-bewildered with conjectures, fears, and doubts as to what course I must pursue, did I walk on beside Matilda, who, having quarrelled with her sister, kept close to me. She went chattering on about some misdoings of Caroline. At last my attention was caught by Zillah's name.

'I won't bear it always,' said the angry child: 'I'll only bear it till Zillah comes of age.'

'Bear what?'

'Why, that Carry should always have two new frocks to my one. It's a shame!'

'But what has that to say to Zillah's coming of age?'

'Don't you know, Miss Pryor?—oh, of course you don't, for Carry wouldn't let me tell you: but I will!' she added maliciously.

I hardly knew whether I was right or wrong in not stopping the girl's tongue, but I could not do it.

'Do you know,' she added in a sly whisper, 'Carry says we shall all be very rich when Zillah comes of age. Pa and ma kept it very secret; but Carry found it out, and told it to Brother Augustus and to me.'

'Told what?' said I, forgetful that I was prying into a family secret, and stung into curiosity by the mention of Augustus.

'That Zillah will then be very rich, as her father left her all he had; and Uncle Henry was a great nabob, because he married an Indian princess, and got all her money. Now, you see,' she continued with a cunning smile, shocking on that young face, 'we must be very civil to Zillah, and of course she will give us all her money. Eh, you understand?'

I stood aghast. In a moment all came clear upon me: the secret of Mr Sutherland's guardianship—of his letter to me intercepted—of the money lately sent—of Mr Le Pœr's anxiety concerning his niece's life—of his desire to keep her hidden from the world, lest she might wake to a knowledge of her position. The whole was a tissue of crimes. And, deepest crime of all! I now guessed why Lieutenant Augustus wished, unknown to his father, to entrap her still childish affections, marry her, and secure all to himself. I never knew much of the world and its wickedness: I believed all men were like my father or Mr Sutherland. This discovery for the time quite dizzied my faculties. I have not the slightest recollection of anything more that passed on that sea-side walk, except that, coming in at the door of the cottage, I heard Zillah say in anxious tones: 'What ails Miss Pryor, I wonder?' I had wisdom enough to answer: 'Nothing, my dears!' and send them all to bed.

'Shall you be long after us?' asked Zillah, who, as I said, was my chamber-companion. 'An hour or two,' I replied, turning away. I went and sat alone in the little parlour, trying to collect my thoughts. To any governess the discovery of a clandestine and unworthy love-affair among her pupils would be most painful, but my discoveries were all horror together. The more I thought it over, the more my agonised pity for Zillah overcame my grief at her deceitfulness. Love is always so weak, and girlish love at fifteen such a fascinating dream. Whatever I

thought of the young lieutenant, he was very attractive to most people. He was, besides, the first man Zillah had ever known, and the first human being except myself who had treated her with kindness. He had done that from the first; but what other opportunities could they have had to become lovers? I recollected Zillah's wanderings, evening after evening, in the grounds of the deserted estate. She must have met him there. Poor girl! I could well imagine what it must be to be wooed under the glamour of summer twilight and beautiful solitude. No wonder Zillah's heart was stolen away! Thinking of this now, I feel I am wrong in saying 'heart' of what at best could have been mere 'fancy.' Women's natures are different; but some natures I have known were gravely, mournfully, fatally in earnest, even at sixteen.

However, in earnest or not, she must be snatched from this marriage at all risks. There could be no doubt of that. But to whom should I apply for aid? Not to Mr Le Poer certainly. The poor orphan seemed trembling between the grasp of either villain, father and son. Whatever must be done for her I must do myself, of my own judgment, and on my own responsibility. It was a very hard strait for me. In my necessity I instinctively turned to my best friend in the world, and, as I suddenly remembered, Zillah's too: I determined to write and explain all to Mr Sutherland. How well I remember that time! The little parlour quite still and quiet, except for the faint sound of the waves rolling in; for it was rather a wild night, and our small one-storeyed cottage stood by itself in a solitary part of the beach. How well I remember myself! sitting with the pen in my hand, uncertain how to begin; for I felt awkward, never having written to him since I was a child. At first I almost forgot what I had to write about. While musing, I was startled by a noise like the opening of a window. Now, as I explained, our house was all on one flat, and we could easily step from any window to the beach. Shuddering with alarm, I hurried into Zillah's room. There, by the dim night-light, I saw her bed was empty. She had apparently dressed herself—for I saw none of her clothes—and crept out at the window. Terrified inexpressibly, I was about to follow her, when I saw the flutter of a shawl outside, and heard her speaking.

'No, cousin—no, dear cousin! Don't ask me. I can't go away with you to-night. It would be very wrong when Miss Pryor knows nothing about it. If she had found us out, or threatened, and we were obliged to go'—— (Immediately I saw that with a girl of Zillah's fierce obstinacy discovery would be most dangerous. I put out the light and kept quite still.)

'I can't, indeed I can't,' pursued Zillah's voice, in answer to some urging which was inaudible; adding with a childish laugh: 'You know, Cousin Augustus, it would never do for me to go and be married in a cotton dressing-gown; and Miss Pryor keeps all my best clothes. Dear Miss Pryor! I would much rather have told her, only you say she would be so much the more surprised and pleased when I came back married. And you are quite sure that she shall always live with us, and never return to Yorkshire again!'

Her words, so childish, so-unconscious of the wrong she was doing, perfectly startled me. All my notions of girlish devotion following its own

wild will were put to flight. Here was a mere child led away by the dangle of a new toy to the brink of a precipice. She evidently knew no more of love and marriage than a baby. For a little time longer, the wicked—lover I cannot call him—suitor urged his suit, playing with her simplicity in a manner that he must have inwardly laughed at all the time. He lured her to matrimony by puerile pet names, such as 'My angel'—by idle rhapsodies, and pictures of fine houses and clothes. 'I don't mind these things at all,' said poor Zillah innocently; 'only you say that when I am married I shall have nothing to do, and you will never scold me, and I shall have Miss Pryor always with me. Promise!' Here was a pause, until the child's simple voice was heard again: 'I don't like that, cousin. I won't kiss you. Miss Pryor once said we ought never to kiss anybody unless we love them very much.'

'And don't you love me, my adorable creature?'

'I—I'm not quite sure: sometimes I love you, and sometimes not; but I suppose I shall always when we are married.'

'That must be very soon,' said the lieutenant, and I thought I heard him trying to suppress a yawn. 'Let us settle it at once, my dear, for it is late. If you will not come to-night, let me have the happiness, the entire felicity, of fetching you to-morrow.'

'No, no,' Zillah answered; 'Miss Pryor will want me to help her to pack. We leave this day-week: let me stay till the night before that; then come for me, and I'll have my best frock on, and we can be married in time to meet them all before the boat sails next day.'

In any other circumstances I should have smiled at this child's idea of marriage: but now the crisis was far too real and awful; and the more her ignorance lightened her own error, the more it increased the crime of that bad man who was about to ruin her peace for ever. A little he tried to reverse her plan and make the marriage earlier; but Zillah was too steady. In the obstinacy of her character—in the little influence which, lover as he was, he seemed to have over her—I read her safeguard, past and present. It would just allow me time to save her in the only way she could be saved. I listened till I heard her say good-by to her cousin, creep back into the dark room through the open window, and fasten it securely as before. Then I stole away to the parlour, and, supported by the strong excitement of the moment, wrote my letter to Mr Sutherland. There would be in the six days just time for the arrival of an answer, or—himself. I left everything to him, merely stating the facts, knowing he would do right. At midnight I went to bed. Zillah was fast asleep. As I lay awake, hour after hour, I thanked Heaven that the poor child, deluded as she had been, knew nothing of what love was in its reality. She was at least spared that sorrow.

During all the week I contrived to keep Zillah as near me as was possible consistent with the necessity of not awaking her suspicions. This was the more practicable, as she seemed to cling to me with an unwonted and even painful tenderness. The other girls grumbled sadly at our departure; but luckily all had been definitively arranged by their father, who had even, strange to say, given me money for the journey. He had likewise gracefully apologised for being obliged to let us travel alone, as he had himself some business-engagements, while his son had lately

rejoined his regiment. I really think the deceiving and deceived father fully credited the latter fact. Certainly they were a pretty pair! I made all my plans secure, and screwed up my courage as well as I could; but I own on the evening previous to our journey—the evening which, from several attesting proofs, I knew was still fixed for the elopement—I began to feel a good deal alarmed. Of Mr Sutherland was no tidings. At twilight I saw plainly that the sole hope must lie in my own presence of mind, my influence over Zillah, and my appeal to her sense of honour and affection. I sent the children early to bed, saying I had letters to write, and prepared myself for whatever was to happen. Now many may think me foolish, and at times I thought myself so likewise, for not going at once to Zillah and telling her all I had discovered; but I knew her character better than that. The idea of being betrayed, waylaid, controlled, would drive her fierce Eastern nature into the very commission of the madness she contemplated. In everything I must trust to the impulse of the moment, and to the result of her suddenly discovering her own position and the villainous plans laid against her.

Never in my life do I remember a more anxious hour than that I spent sitting in the dark by the parlour-window, whence, myself unseen, I could see all that passed without the house; for it was a lovely night: the moon high up over the Lough and making visible the Antrim hills. I think in all moments of great peril one grows quiet: so did I. At eleven there was a sound of wheels on the beach, and the shadow of a man passed the window. I looked out. It was the most unromantic and commonplace elopement with an heiress: he was merely going to take her away on an outside car. There was no one with him but the carman, who was left whistling contentedly on the shore. The moment had come; with the energy of desperation, I put off the shawl in which I had wrapped myself in case I had to follow the child; for follow her I had determined to do were it necessary. Quietly, and with as ordinary a manner as I could assume, I walked into Zillah's room. She was just stepping from the window. She had on her best frock and shawl, poor innocent! with her favourite white bonnet, that I had lately trimmed for her, carefully tied up in a kerchief. I touched her shoulder. 'Zillah, where are you going?' She started and screamed. 'Tell me: I must know,' I repeated, holding her fast by the arm, while Augustus rather roughly pulled her by the other.

'Cousin, you hurt me!' she cried, and instinctively drew back. Then for the first time the lieutenant saw me.

I have often noticed that cunning and deceitful people—small villains, not great ones—are always cowards. Mr Augustus drew back as if he had been shot. I took no notice of him, but still appealed to Zillah.

'Tell me, my child, the plain truth, as you always do: where were you going?'

She stammered out: 'I was going to—to Belfast—to be married.'

'To your cousin?'

She hung her head and murmured: 'Yes.'

At this frank confession the bridegroom interposed. He perhaps was the braver for reflecting that he had only women to deal with. He leaped in at the chamber-window, and angrily asked me by what right I interfered. 'I will tell you,' said I, 'if you have enough gentlemanly feeling to leave

my apartment, and will speak with me in the open air.' He retreated, I bolted the window, and still keeping a firm hold on the trembling girl, met him outside the front-door. It certainly was the oddest place for such a scene; but I did not wish to let him inside the house.

'Now, Miss Pryor,' said he imperatively, but still politely—a Le Poer could not be otherwise—'will you be so kind as to let go that young lady, who has put herself under my protection, and intends honouring me with her hand?'

'Is that true, Zillah? Do you love this man, and voluntarily intend to marry him?'

'Yes, if you will let me, Miss Pryor. He told me you would be so pleased. He promises always to be kind to me, and never let me work. Please don't be angry with me, dear Miss Pryor: O do let me marry my cousin!'

'Listen to me a few minutes, Zillah,' said I, 'and you shall choose.' And then I told her, in as few words as I could, what her position was—how that it had been concealed from her that she was an heiress, and how, by marrying her, her cousin Augustus would be master over all her wealth. So unworldly was she, that I think the girl herself hardly understood me; but the lieutenant was furious.

'It is all a lie—an infamous cheat!' he cried. 'Don't believe it, Zillah. Don't be frightened, little fool! I promised to marry you, and, by Heaven! marry you I will!'

'Lieutenant Le Poer,' said I very quietly, 'that may not be quite so easy as you think. However, I do not prevent you, as indeed I have no right; I only ask my dear child Zillah here to grant me one favour, as for the sake of my love for her'—(Here Zillah sobbed)—'I doubt not she will: that she should do as every other young woman of common-sense and delicacy would do, and wait until to-morrow, to ask the consent of one who will then probably be here, if he is not already arrived—her guardian, Mr Andrew Sutherland.'

Lieutenant Augustus burst out with an oath, probably mild in the mess-room, but very shocking here to two women's ears. Zillah crept farther from him and nearer to me.

'I'll not be cheated so!' stormed he. 'Come, child, you'll trust your cousin? you'll come away to-night?'—and he tried to lift her on the car, which had approached—the Irish driver evidently much enjoying the scene.

'No, cousin; not to-night,' said the girl resisting. 'I'd rather wait and have Miss Pryor with me, and proper bridesmaids, and all that—that is, if I marry you at all, which I won't unless Miss Pryor thinks you will be kind to me. So good by till to-morrow, cousin.' He was so enraged by this time that he tried forcibly to drag her on the car. But I wound my arms round my dear child's waist, and shrieked for help.

'Faith, sir,' said the sturdy Irishman, interfering half in amusement, half in indignation, 'ye'd better have the women alone. I'd rayther not meddle with an abduction.'

So Zillah was set free from the lieutenant's grasp, for, as I said before, a scoundrel is often a great coward. I drew the trembling and terrified girl into the house—he following with a storm of oaths and threatenings.

At last I forcibly shut the door upon him, and bolted him out. Whether this indignity was too much for the valorous soldier, or whether he felt sure that all chance was over, I know not; but when I looked out ten minutes after, the coast was clear. I took my erring, wronged, yet still more wronged than erring, child into my bosom, and thanked Heaven that she was saved. The next morning Mr Sutherland arrived.

After this night's events I have little to say, or else had rather say but little of what passed during the remainder of that summer. We all travelled to England together, going round by Yorkshire to leave Mr Le Poer's daughters at their own home. This was Mr Sutherland's plan, in order that the two girls should be kept in ignorance of the whole affair, and especially of their father's ill-deeds. What they suspected I know not: they were merely told that it was the desire of Zillah's guardian to take her and her governess home with him. So we parted at Halifax, and I never saw any of the family again. I had no scruples about thus quitting them, as I found out from Mr Sutherland that I had been engaged solely as governess to his ward, and that he had himself paid my salary in advance, the whole of which, in some way or other, had been intercepted by Mr Le Poer. The money of course was gone; but he had written to me with each remittance, and thus I had lost his letters. That was hard! I also found out, with great joy and comfort, that my Zillah was truly Zillah Le Poer—her father's legitimate heiress. All I had been led to believe was a cruel and wicked lie. The whole history of her father and mother was one of those family tragedies, only too frequent, which, the actors in them being dead, are best forgotten. I shall not revive the tale.

In late autumn Mr Sutherland sailed for India. Before he quitted England, he made me sole guardian in his stead over Zillah Le Poer, assigning for her a handsome maintenance. He said he hoped we should all live happily together—she, my mother, and I—until he came back. He spent a short time with us all at his country-seat—a time which, looking back upon, seems in its eight days like eight separate years.

I ought to speak of Zillah, the unmoved centre of so many convolving fates. She remained still and silent as ever—dull, grieved, humiliated. I told her gradually and gently the whole truth, and explained from how much she had been saved. She seemed grateful and penitent: her heart had never been touched by love; she was yet a mere child. The only evidence of womanly shame she gave was in keeping entirely out of her guardian's way: nor did he take much notice of her except in reproaching himself to me with being neglectful of his charge; but he had so thoroughly trusted in the girl's uncle as being her best protector. The only remark he ever made on Zillah's personal self was that she had beautiful eyes, adding, with a half-sigh, 'that he liked dark Oriental eyes.' One day his mother told me something which explained this. She said he had been engaged to a young lady in India, who on the eve of their marriage had died. He had never cared much for women's society since, and his mother thought would probably never marry. After his departure she told me the whole story. My heart bled over every pang that he had suffered: he was so good and noble a man. And when I knew about his indifference to all women, I felt the more gratefully

what trust he shewed in me by making me Zillah's guardian in his absence, and wishing me to write to him regularly of her welfare. The last words he said were to ask me to go and see his mother often; and then he bade God bless me, and called me 'his dear friend.' He was very kind always!

We had a quiet winter, for my health was not good—I being often delicate in winter-time. My mother and Zillah took care of me, and I was very grateful for their love. I got well at last, as the spring-time began, and went on in my old ways.

There are sometimes long pauses in one's life—deep rests or sleeps of years—in which month after month, and season after season, float on each the same; during which the soul lies either quiet or torpid, as may be. Thus, without any trouble, joy, or change, we lived for several years—my mother, Zillah Le Poer, and I. One morning I found with a curious surprise, but without any of the horror which most women are supposed to feel at that fact, that I was thirty years old! We discovered by the same reckoning that Zillah was just nineteen. I remember she put her laughing face beside mine in the glass. There was a great difference truly. I do not mean the difference in her from me, for I never compared that, but in her from her former self. She had grown up into a woman, and, as that glass told her, and my own eyes told me, a very striking woman too. I was little of a judge in beauty myself; still, I knew well that everybody we met thought her handsome. Likewise, she had grown up beautiful in mind as well as in body. I was very proud of my dear child. I well remember this day, when she was nineteen and I thirty. I remember it, I say, because our kind friend in India had remembered it likewise, and sent us each a magnificent shawl; far too magnificent it was for a little body like me, but it became Zillah splendidly. She tucked me under her arm as if I had been a little girl, and walked me up and down the room; for she was of a cheerful, gay temper now—just the one to make an old heart young again, to flash upon a worn spirit with the brightness of its own long-past morning. I recollect thinking this at the time—I wish I had thought so oftener! But it matters little: I only chronicle this day, as being the first when Zillah unconsciously put herself on a level with me, becoming thenceforward my equal—no longer a mere pet and a child.

About this time—I may as well just state the fact to comfort other maidens of thirty years' standing—I received an offer of marriage, the first I ever had. He who asked me was a gentleman of my own age, an old acquaintance, though never a very intimate friend. I examined myself well, with great humility and regret, for he was an excellent man; but I found I could not marry him. It was very strange that he should ask me, I thought. My mother, proud and pleased—first, because I had had the honour of a proposal; secondly, that it was refused, and she kept her child still—would have it that the circumstance was not strange at all. She said many women were handsomer and more attractive at thirty than they had ever been in their lives. My poor, fond, deluded and deluding mother, in whose sight even I was fair! That night I was foolish enough to look long into the glass, at my quiet little face, and my pale, gray-blue eyes—not dark, like Zillah's—foolish enough to count narrowly the white

threads that were coming one by one into my hair. This trouble—I mean the offer of marriage—I did not quite get over for many weeks, even months.

The following year of my life there befell me a great pang. Of this—a grief never to be forgotten, a loss never to be restored—I cannot even now say more than is implied in three words—*my mother died!* After that Zillah and I lived together alone for twelve months or more.

There are some scenes in our life—landscape scenes, I mean—that we remember very clearly: one strikes me now. A quiet, soft May-day; the hedges just in their first green, the horse-chestnuts white with flowers: the long, silent country-lanes swept through by a travelling-carriage, in the which two women, equally silent, sat—Zillah Le Poer and I. It was the month before her coming of age, and she was going to meet her guardian, who had just returned from India. Mrs Sutherland had received a letter from Southampton, and immediately sent for us into the country to meet her son, her ‘beloved Andrew.’ I merely repeat the words as I remember Zillah’s doing so, and laughing at the ugly name. I never thought it ugly. When we had really started, however, Zillah ceased laughing, and became grave, probably at the recollection of that humiliating circumstance which first brought her acquainted with her guardian. But despite this ill-omened beginning, her youth had blossomed into great perfection. As she sat there before me, fair in person, well-cultured in mind, and pure and virgin in heart—for I had so kept her out of harm’s way that, though nearly twenty-one, I knew she had never been ‘in love’ with any man—as she sat thus, I felt proud and glad in her, feeling sure that Mr Sutherland would say I had well fulfilled the charge he gave.

We drove to the lodge-gates. An English country-house is always fair to see: this was very beautiful—I remembered it seven years ago, only then it was autumn, and now spring. Zillah remembered it likewise: she drew back, and I heard her whisper uneasily: ‘Now we shall soon see Mr Sutherland.’ I did not answer her a word. We rolled up the avenue under the large chestnut-trees. I saw some one standing at the portico; then I think the motion of the carriage must have made me dizzy, for all grew indistinct, except a firm, kind hand holding me as I stepped down, and the words, ‘Take care, my dear Cassia!’ It was Mr Sutherland! He scarcely observed Zillah, till in the hall I introduced her to him. He seemed surprised, startled, pleased. Talking of her to me that evening he said he had not thought she would have grown up thus; and I noticed him look at her at times with a pensive kindness. Mrs Sutherland whispered me that the lady he had been engaged to was a half-caste like Zillah, which accounted for it. His mother had been right: he had come back as he went out—unmarried.

When Zillah went to bed she was full of admiration for her guardian. He was so tall, so stately. Then his thick, curling, fair hair—just like a young man’s, with scarcely a shadow of gray. She would not believe that he was over forty—ten years older than myself—until by some pertinacity I had impressed this fact upon her. And then she said it did not signify, as she liked such ‘dear old souls’ as him and me much better than any young people. Her fervour of admiration made me smile; but after this night I observed that the expression of it gradually ceased.

Though I was not so demonstrative as Zillah, it will not be supposed but that I was truly glad to see my old friend Mr Sutherland. He was very kind, talked to me long of past things, and as he cast a glance on my black dress, I saw his lips quiver: he took my hand and pressed it like a brother. God bless him for that! But one thing struck me—a thing I had not calculated on—the alteration seven years had made in us both. When he took me down to dinner, I accidentally caught sight of our two figures in the large pier-glass. Age tells so differently on man and woman: I remembered the time when he was a grown man and I a mere girl; now he looked a stately gentleman in the prime of life, and I a middle-aged, old-maidish woman. Perhaps something more than years had done this; yet it was quite natural, only I had never thought of it before. So, when that first-meeting was over, with the excitement, pleasurable or otherwise, that it brought as a matter of course to us all—when we had severally bade each other good-night, and Mr Sutherland had said smiling that he was glad it was only good-night, not good-by—when the whole house was quiet and asleep, I, to use the Psalmist's solemn words: '*At night on my bed I communed with my own heart in my chamber, and was still.*'

'Cassia, I want to speak to you particularly,' said Mr Sutherland to me one morning as after breakfast he was about to go into his study. Zillah placed herself in the doorway with the pretty obstinacy, half-womanish, half-girlish, that she sometimes used with her guardian—much to my surprise. Zillah was on excellent terms with him, considering their brief acquaintance of three weeks. In that time she had treated him as I in my whole lifetime had never ventured to do—wilfully, jestingly, even crossly, yet he seemed to like it. They were very social and merry, for his disposition had apparently grown more cheerful as he advanced in life. Their relation was scarcely like guardian and ward, but that of perfect equality—pleasant and confidential, which somewhat surprised me, until I recollected what opportunities they had of intercourse, and what strong friendships are sometimes formed even in a single week or fortnight when people are shut up together, in a rather lonely country-house. This was the state of things among us all on the morning when Mr Sutherland called me to his study. Zillah wanted to go likewise. 'Not to-day,' he answered her, very gently and smilingly. 'I have business to talk over with Miss Pryor.' (I knew he said 'Miss Pryor' out of respect, yet it hurt me—I had been 'Cassia' with him so many years. Perhaps he thought I was outgrowing my baby-name now.)

The business he wished to speak of was about Zillah's coming of age next week, and what was to be done on the occasion. 'Should he, ought he, to give a ball, a dinner, anything of that sort? Would Zillah like it?'

This was a great concession, for in old times he always disliked society. I answered that I did not think such display necessary, but I would try to find out Zillah's mind. I did so. It was an innocent, girlish mind, keenly alive to pleasure, and new to everything. The consequences were natural—the ball must be. A little she hesitated when I hinted at her guardian's peculiarities, and offered cheerfully to renounce her delight. But he, his eyes beaming with a deeper delight still, would not consent. So the thing was settled. It was a very brilliant affair, for Mr Sutherland

spared no expense. He seemed to take a restless eagerness in providing for his young favourite everything she could desire. Nay, in answer to her wayward entreaties, he even consented to open the ball with her, though saying, 'he was sure he should make an old idiot of himself.' That was not likely! I watched them walk down the room together, and heard many people say with a smile what a handsome pair they were, notwithstanding the considerable difference of age. It was a very quiet evening to me. Being strange to almost every one there, I sat near old Mrs Sutherland in a corner. Mr Sutherland asked me to dance once, but I did not feel strong, and indeed for the last few years I had almost given up dancing. He laughed, and said merrily: 'It was not fair for him to be beginning life just when I ended it.'—A true word spoken in jest. But I only smiled.

The ball produced results not unlikely, when it was meant for the introduction into society of a young woman, handsome, attractive, and an heiress. A week or two after Zillah's birthday Mr Sutherland called me once more into his study. I noticed he looked rather paler and less composed than usual. He forgot even to ask me to sit down, and we stood together by the fireplace, which I remember was filled with a great vase of lilacs that Zillah had insisted on placing there. It filled the room with a strong, rich scent, which now I never perceive without its calling back to mind that room and that day. He said: 'I have had a letter to-day on which I wish to consult with you before shewing it to Miss Le Pocr.' I was rather startled by the formal word, since he usually said 'Zillah,' as was natural. 'It is a letter—scarcely surprising—in fact to be expected after what I noticed at the dinner-party yesterday; in fact—— But you had better read it yourself.' He took the letter from his desk, and gave it to me. It was an earnest and apparently sincere application for the hand of his ward. The suitor was of good family and moderate prospects. I had noticed he was very attentive to Zillah at the ball, and on some occasions since; still I was a good deal surprised, more so even than Mr Sutherland, who had evidently watched her closer than I. I gave him back the letter in silence, and avoided looking at his face.

'Well, Cassia,' he said after a pause, and with an appearance of gaiety, 'what is to be done? You women are the best counsellors in these matters. I smiled, but both he and I very soon became grave once more. 'It is a thing to be expected,' continued he in a voice rather formal and hard. 'With Zillah's personal attractions and large fortune she was sure to receive many offers. Still it is early to begin these affairs.' I reminded him that she was twenty-one. 'True, true. She might, under other circumstances, have been married long before this. Do you think that she'—— I suppose he was going to ask me whether she was likely to accept Mr French, or whether she had hitherto formed any attachment. But probably delicacy withheld him, for he suddenly stopped and omitted the question. Soon he went on in the same steady tone: 'I think Zillah ought to be made acquainted with this circumstance. Mr French states that this letter to me is the first confession of his feelings. That was honourable on his part. He is a gentleman of good standing, though far her inferior in fortune. People might say that he wanted her property to patch up the decayed estate at Weston-Brook.' This was spoken bitterly, very bitterly

for a man of such kind nature as Andrew Sutherland. He seemed conscious of it, and added: 'I may wrong him, and if so I regret it. But do you not think, Cassia, that of all things it must be most despicable, most mean, most galling to a man of any pride or honest feeling, the thought of the world's saying that he married his wife for money, as a prop to his falling fortunes, or a shield to his crumbling honour? I would die a thousand deaths first!'

In the passion of the moment the red colour rushed violently to his cheek, and then he became more pallid than ever. I beheld him: my eyes were opened now. I held fast by the marble chimney-piece, so that I could stand quite upright, firm, and quiet. He walked hurriedly to the window, and flung it open, saying the scent of the lilacs was too strong. When he came back, we were both ready to talk again. I believe I spoke first—to save him the pain of doing so. 'I have no idea,' said I, and I said truly, 'what answer Zillah will give to this letter. Hitherto I have known all her feelings, and am confident that while she stayed with me her heart was untouched.' Here I waited for him to speak, but he did not. I went on: 'Mr French is very agreeable, and she seems to like him; but a girl's heart, if of any value at all, is rarely won in three meetings. I think, however, that Zillah ought to be made acquainted with this letter. Will you tell her, or shall I?'

'Go you and do it—a woman can best deal with a woman in these cases. And,' he added, rising slowly and looking down upon me from his majestic height with that grave and self-possessed smile which was likewise as sweet as any woman's, 'tell Zillah from me, that though I wish her to marry in her own rank and with near equality of fortune, to save her from all those dangers of mercenary offers to which an heiress is so cruelly exposed; still, both now and at all times, I leave her to the dictates of her own affections, and her happiness will ever be my chief consideration in life.' He spoke with formal serenity until the latter words, when his voice sank a little. Then he led me to the door, and I went out.—Zillah lay on a sofa reading a love-story. Her crisped black hair was tossed about the crimson cushions, and her whole figure was that of rich Eastern luxuriance. She had always rather a fantastic way of dress, and now she looked almost like a princess out of the Arabian Nights. Even though her skin was that of a half-caste, and her little hands were not white, but brown, there was no denying that she was a very beautiful woman. I felt it—saw it—knew it! After a minute's pause I went to her side: she jumped up and kissed me, as she was rather fond of doing. Her kisses were very strange to me just then. I came as quickly as possible to my errand, and gave her the letter to read. As she glanced through it her cheeks flushed, and her lips began to curl. She threw the letter on my lap, and said abruptly: 'Well, and what of that?' I began a few necessary explanations. Zillah stopped me.

'Oh, I heard something of the sort from Mr French last night. I did not believe him, nor do I now. He is only making a jest of me.'

I answered that this was impossible. In my own mind I was surprised at Zillah's having known the matter before, and having kept it so quietly. Mr French's statement about his honourable reticence towards the lady of his devotions must have been untrue. Still this was not so remarkable as

Zillah's own secrecy on the subject. 'Why did you not tell me, my dear?' said I: 'you know your happiness is of the first importance to me as well as to your guardian.' And, rather hesitating, I repeated word by word, as near as I could, Mr Sutherland's message. Zillah half-hid her face within the cushions, and then drew it out burning red.

'He thinks I am going to accept the creature then? He would have me marry a conceited, chattering, mean-looking, foolish boy!' (Now Mr French was certainly twenty-five.) 'One, too, that only wants me for my fortune, and nothing else. It is very wrong and cruel and unkind of him, and you may go and tell him so.'

'Tell who?' said I, bewildered by this outburst of indignation, and great confusion of personal pronouns.

'Mr Sutherland, of course! Who else would I tell? Whose opinion else do I care for? Go and say to him— No,' she added abruptly: 'no, you needn't trouble him with anything about such a foolish girl as I. Just say, I shall not marry Mr French, and will be so kind as to give him his answer, and bid him let me alone?' Here, quite exhausted with her wrath, Zillah sank back and took to her book, turning her head from me. But I saw that she did not read one line, that her motionless eyes were fixed and full of a strange deep expression. I began to cease wondering what the future would bring. Very soon afterwards I went back to Mr Sutherland, and told him all that had passed: just the plain facts without any comments of my own. He apparently required none. I found him sitting composedly with some papers before him—he had for the last few days been immersed in business which seemed rather to trouble him: he started a little as I entered, but immediately came forward and listened with a quiet aspect to the message I had to bring. I could not tell whether it made him happy or the contrary: his countenance could be at times so totally impassive that no friend, dearest or nearest, could ever find out from it anything he did not wish to betray.

'The matter is settled then,' said he gravely: 'I will write to Mr French to-day, and perhaps it would be as well if we never alluded to what has passed. I, at least, shall not do it: tell Zillah so. But, in the future, say that I entreat she keeps no secret back from you. Remember this, my dear Cassia: watch over her as you love her—and you do love her?' continued he, grasping my hand. I answered that I did, and, God knows, even then I told no lie. She was a very dear child to me always! Mr Sutherland seemed quite satisfied and at rest. He bade me a cheerful good-by, which I knew meant that I should go away, so accordingly I went. Passing the drawing-room door I saw Zillah lying in her old position on the sofa; so I would not disturb her, but went and walked for an hour under a clump of fir-trees in the garden. They made a shadow dark and grave and still; it was pleasanter than being on the lawn, among the flowers, the sunshine, and the bees. I did not come in until dinner-time. There were only ourselves, just a family party—Mr Sutherland did not join us until we reached the dining-room door. I noticed that Zillah's colour changed as he approached, and that all dinner-time she hardly spoke to him; but he behaved to her as usual. He was rather thoughtful, for, as he told me privately, he had some trifling business-anxieties burdening him just then; otherwise he seemed the same. Nevertheless, whether it was

his fault or Zillah's, in a few days the fact grew apparent to me that they were not quite such good friends as heretofore. A restraint, a discomfort, a shadow scarcely tangible, yet still there, was felt between them. 'Such a cloud often rises—a mist that comes just before the day-dawn; or, as happens sometimes, before the night.'

For many days—how many I do not recollect, since about this time all in the house and in the world without seemed to go on so strangely—for many days afterwards nothing happened of any consequence, except that one Sunday afternoon I made a faint struggle of politeness in some remark about 'going home' and 'encroaching on their hospitality,' which was met with such evident pain and alarm by all parties, that I was silent; so we stayed yet longer. One morning—it was high summer now—we were sitting at breakfast: we three only, as Mrs Sutherland never rose early. I was making tea, Zillah near me, and Mr Sutherland at the foot of the table. He looked anxious, and did not talk much, though I remember he rose up once to throw a handful of crumbs to a half-fame thrush who had built on the lawn—he was always so kind to every living thing. 'There, my fine bird, take some home to your wife and weans!' said he pleasantly; but at the words became grave, even sad, once more. He had his letters beside him, and opened them successively until he came to *one*—a momentous one, I knew; for though he never moved, but read quietly on, every ray of colour went out of his face. He dropped his head upon his hand, and sat so long in that attitude that we were both frightened.

'Is anything the matter?' I said gently, for Zillah was dumb.

'Did you speak?' he answered with a bewildered stare. 'Forgive me; I—I have had bad news'—and he tried to resume the duties of the meal; but it was impossible: he was evidently crushed, as even the strongest and bravest men will be, for the moment, under some great and unexpected shock. We said to him—I repeat *we*, because, though Zillah spoke not, her look was enough, 'had he seen it—we said to him those few soothing things that women can, and ought to say, in such a time. 'Ay,' he answered, quite unmannered—'ay, you are very kind. I think—if I could speak to some one—Cassia, will you come?' He rose slowly, and held out his hand to me. *To me!* That proof of his confidence, his tenderness, his friendship, I have always remembered, and thought, with thankful heart, that, though not made to give him happiness, I have sometimes done him a little good when he was in trouble.

We walked together from the room. I heard a low sob behind us, but had no power to stay; besides, a momentary pang mattered little; the sobs would be hushed ere long.—Standing behind the chair where he sat, I heard the story of Mr Sutherland's misfortunes—misfortunes neither strange nor rare in the mercantile world. In one brief word, he was ruined; that is, so far as a man can be considered ruined who has enough left to pay all his creditors, and start in the world afresh as a penniless honest man. He told me this—an everyday story; nay, it had been my own father's—told it me with great composure, and I listened with the same. I was acquainted with all these kind of business-matters of old. It was very strange, but I felt no grief, no pity for his losses; I only felt, on my own account, a burning, avaricious thirst for

gold; a frantic envy—a mad longing to have for a single day, a single hour, wealth in millions.

‘Yes, it must be so,’ said he, when, after talking to me a little more, I saw the hard muscles of his face relax, and he grew patient, ready to bear his troubles like a man—like Andrew Sutherland. ‘Yes, I must give up this house, and all my pleasant life here; but I can do it, since I shall be alone.’ And then he added in a low tone: ‘I am glad, Cassia, very glad of two things: my mother’s safe settlement, and the winding-up last month of all my affairs with—Miss Le Poer.’

‘When,’ said I, after a pause—‘when do you intend to tell Zillah what has happened?’ I felt feverishly anxious that she should know all, and that I should learn how she would act.

‘Tell Zillah? Ay,’ he repeated, ‘tell her at once—tell her at once.’ And then he sunk back into his chair, muttering something about ‘its signifying little now.’

I left him, and with my heart nerved as it were to anything, went back to the room where Zillah was. Her eyes met me with a bitter, fierce, jealous look—jealous of me, the foolish child!—until I told her what had happened to our friend. Then she wept, but only for a moment, until a light broke upon her. ‘What does it signify?’ cried she, echoing, curiously enough, his own words. ‘I am of age—I can do just what I like: so I will give my guardian all my money. Go back and tell him so!’ I hesitated. ‘I tell you I will: all I have in the world is not too good for him. Everything belonging to me is his, and’—Here she stopped, and catching my fixed look, became covered with confusion. Still the generous heart did not waver. ‘And—when he has my fortune, you and I will go and live together, and be governesses.’ I felt the girl was in earnest, nor wished to deceive me; and though I let her deceive herself a little longer, it was with joy—ay, with joy, that in the heart I clasped to mine was such unselfishness, such true nobility, not unworthy even of what it was about to win. I went once more through the hall—the long, cool, silent hall, which I trod so dizzily, daring not to pause—unto Mr Sutherland’s presence. ‘Well!’ he said, looking up.

I told—in what words I cannot remember now; but solemnly, faithfully, as if I were answering my account before Heaven—the truth, and the whole truth. He listened, pressing his hands on his eyes, and then gave vent to one heavy sigh like a woman’s sob. At last he rose and walked feebly to the door. There he paused, as though to account for his going. ‘I ought to thank her, you know. It must not be—not by any means: still I ought to go and thank her—the—dear—child!’ His voice ceased, broken by emotion. Once more he held out his hand: I grasped it, and said: ‘Go!’ At the parlour-door he stopped, apparently for me to precede him in entering there; but, as if accidentally, I passed on and let him enter alone. Whether he knew it or not, I know clear as light what would happen then and there. The door shut—they two being within, and I, without. In an hour I came back towards the house. I had been wandering somewhere I think under the fir-wood. It was broad noon, but I felt very cold; it was always cold under those trees. I had no way to pass but near the parlour-window; and some insane attraction made me look up as I went by. They were standing—they two—close together, as

lovers stand. His arm folded her close; his face, all radiant, yet trembling with tenderness, was pressed upon hers—O my God!

I am half-inclined to blot out the last sentence, as it seems so foolish to dilate on the love-makings of people now twelve years married; and besides, growing older, one feels the more how rarely and how solemnly the Holy Name ought to be mingled with any mere burst of human emotion. But I think the All-Merciful One would pardon it then. Of course no reader will marvel at my shewing emotion over the union of these my two dearest objects on earth.

From that union I can now truly say I have derived the greatest comforts of my life. They were married quickly, as I urged, Mr Sutherland settling his wife's whole property upon herself. This was the only balm his manly pride could know; and no greater proof could he give of his passionate love for her, than that he humbled himself to marry an heiress. As to what the world thought, no one could ever suspect the shadow of mercenary feeling in Andrew Sutherland. All was as it should be—and so best.

After Zillah's marriage, I took a situation abroad. Mr Sutherland was very angry when he knew; but I told them I longed for the soft Italian air, and could not live an idle life on any account. So they let me go, knowing, as he smiling said, 'That Cassia could be obstinate when she had a mind—that her will, like her heart, was as firm as a rock.' Ah me!

When I came back, it was to a calm, contented, and cheerful middle-age; to the home of a dear brother and sister; to the love of a new generation; to a life filled with peace of heart and thankfulness towards God; to—

Hey day! writing is this moment become quite impossible; for there peeps a face in at my bedroom-door, and, while I live, not for worlds shall my young folk know that Aunt Cassia is an authoress. Therefore good by, pen!—And now come in, my namesake, my darling, my fair-haired Cassia, with her mother's smile, and her father's eyes and brow—I may kiss both now. Ah, God in heaven bless thee, my dear, dear child!

THE PROGRESS OF AMERICA.

THE invention of printing and the discovery of America signalised with the character of epochs the middle and close of the fifteenth century; while the dawn of the sixteenth was brilliantly ushered in by the rising light of the Reformation. Three such almost synchronal events, each of which exercised a considerable influence upon the progress of the Western World, must not be disregarded in an inquiry like the present, relating to the rapid growth of America in population, wealth, and power.

If we glance back over the history of that region, and recur to a period little more than three centuries ago, we find that those two vast continents which stretch from the Northern to the Antarctic Oceans were but recently discovered: the tribes of aborigines who inhabited their vast uncultivated tracts were all, with the exception of Mexico and Peru, sunk in gross barbarism, living in a state of degenerate nature, and addicted to the most cruel customs of savage life: industry was despised amongst them; commerce, the soul of civilisation, was replaced by rapine and predatory incursions; whilst war distributed to a bloodthirsty people those honours which should have encouraged agriculture and the arts of peace. We turn to the present condition of America, and see substituted a strange people, spreading far and wide, and carrying with them principles for the advancement and amelioration of mankind. Instead of issuing forth with implacable enmity against hostile tribes, shouting the wild war-cry, and wielding the knife of destruction, they offer the right hand of fellowship, and invite their neighbour population to enjoy with them those blessings which are the offspring of labour and ingenuity. The abuses of tyrannical government have been in some countries restrained, in others, entirely abolished: republics have sprung up, based on the broadest principles of equity, and acquiring every year increased order and stability: a firm sense of honour, of justice, and of freedom abounds, and the sincere desire to adjust national differences by amicable arrangement must lend another feature to the contrast. Favourable, however, as the picture is which we have here depicted, we cannot forbear observing at once that it refers more particularly to Canada and the United States, and that a vast disparity exists between the northern and southern hemispheres in their social and political developments, the true causes of which we shall endeavour to point out.

America, it is well known, was discovered in 1492 by Christopher Columbus. San Salvador, one of the Bahama Isles, was the first land seen

by Europeans; and on its shore the Genoese navigator, having debarked, erected the standard of Spain, and claimed it as an appendage to the crown and sovereignty of that kingdom. Hayti, Cuba, and Jamaica, the principal of those innumerable islands lying at the entrance of the Mexican Gulf, next graced the triumphant enterprise of this intrepid naval hero. As he sailed up the channels of the Caribbean Archipelago scenes of exquisite beauty opened before him. All was bathed in luxuriant light. Nature, profuse in the wild foliage of a thousand years, brilliant in the variegated dyes of unnumbered flowers, prodigal in fruits of luscious quality, and spreading around seas that sparkled like waters of living emerald, presented to his fond imagination the idea of a fabulous region, or the blissful valley of paradise; but he knew not the extent of his discoveries, nor dreamed that while feasting his eyes on the delights of the Western Indies, he was about to lay open another world to the knowledge and enterprise of the old.

America, which is upwards of 8000 miles in length, enjoys two summers and a double winter. It possesses all the variety of climate which the earth affords, and on either side roll two vast oceans, ready to bear its merchandise or its people to any portion of the world: it contains the most magnificent lakes, the mightiest rivers, the widest plains, and the loftiest mountains: it offers every facility for internal intercourse, and yields in abundance, not only every necessary and every luxury for the support of life and the indulgence of mankind, but is rich in the most valuable metals and rarest gems.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE COLONIES.

The West Indies, with the coast which extends from the furthest point of East Florida to the Gulf of Paria, in Colombia, were the first countries explored by the Spaniards. The curiosity which had been excited by the strange appearance of the natives and their rude and barbaric manners was quickly converted into insatiable avarice by the sight of the gold which adorned the persons of the simple islanders. The acquisition of that precious metal became a most powerful incentive to discovery and conquest. Mexico, Peru, and Chili were subdued by the indefatigable exertions of Cortez, Pizarro, and Almagro—men whose cruelty to the conquered has left their memories odious to mankind—and Brazil shortly afterwards fell subject to the king of Portugal. The dark superstitions of the times disallowed the claims of the native Americans; the inherent right of occupancy, which perhaps thousands of years had given them, was disregarded. They were looked upon as outcasts from the care of Heaven, because they were heathen; and the evil avarice of the Spaniards tore them from their homes and liberty, to work in hopeless chains for the benefit of their oppressors.

The territory subjected to Spain by these conquests was immense. In the north she possessed the ancient empire of Mexico, which comprised California, Texas, and the Floridas, together with Yucatan and the Isthmus of Panama. Colombia—which extended from the Pacific on the west to the Atlantic on the east, and as far inland as the river Marañon or Amazon—

Peru, and Chili, were her possessions in the south. Many of the West India islands also became subject to her sway, pouring their riches into her lap; and the resources of these kingdoms, if properly developed, would have been an inexhaustible source of wealth to her people and her government. Mexico, which consists in many places of high table-land stretching into large plains or savannas, is also diversified by ranges of hill, which give a picturesque appearance to the whole scenery. The woods abound with timber of great value, and trees that yield aromatic gums, liquid ambers, balsams, copal, &c. Its pasturages feed innumerable herds of cattle, whose hides are valuable; besides wild animals, which afford the pleasures of hunting to the more adventurous sportsman, and skins and furs to the gain-seeking merchant. The fertility of the soil is such that flowers and fruits of the most delicate kind grow in profusion; and the climate is generally genial and healthy, except in the low lands by the sea, where marsh and swamp, and want of proper drainage, produce malaria and the most deadly fevers. The Andes—giants of the Western World—run from Central America in the north, through Peru and Chili, to the southern confines of Patagonia, and give a great variety to the climate of these countries. The elevated grounds of Peru and Chili enjoy a cool and salubrious air; on the tops of the mountains there abides perpetual snow, while in the valleys fruits of tender growth bloom to perfection.

Instead of fostering their new formed dependencies, and giving them ample power to legislate according to their necessities, the sovereigns at Madrid intrusted to viceroys an authority as absolute as they themselves possessed for the government of these provinces. The salaries they received were immense, and drawn from the feeble revenues of the colony over which they reigned. These salaries were further augmented by many corrupt and iniquitous courses, of which the sale of public situations and titles is not the least, though the most glaring. An ecclesiastical establishment, to be supported out of the produce of the soil, was another oppressive burden; while the share of gains appropriated to the king, which amounted to a fifth, was sufficient of itself to crush the growth of any state. In fact, the colonial policy of Spain was most selfish and fallacious. She appears to have regarded her colonies as a vast mine from which it was only necessary to dig to be enriched. The idea of an indirect wealth in the healthy current of commerce seems scarcely to have been considered. The evil consequences of this conduct were quickly manifest. The raw material, which might have been grown to great advantage, was allowed to be uncultivated. Agriculture was discouraged, that the colonies might be dependent on the home countries for supplies of provisions, and the commonest necessities of life could only be procured through the same channel. All commerce was confined to the Spaniards, and the most severe restrictions laid upon any intercourse with foreign nations. The gold that was constantly pouring into Spain from America was supposed to enrich her, but on its arrival it went to discharge old debts, and she was found to be still poor. Many branches of trade decayed, and others disappeared altogether. The contraband system was carried on extensively, and nourished a brave and hardy race, who lived in defiance of the laws of their country and the fear of mankind. By this means the objects of Spain were defeated: the monopoly she wished to create she could not preserve. England and her colonies in

North America, France and Holland, became her rivals; and even the governors of the colonies connived at the admission of prohibited articles, which they could procure at a much reduced price and of better material and manufacture from those countries. This restrictive system was continued to the detriment of Spain and her dependencies until the year 1809, when the ports were by necessity, in consequence of the Peninsular war, thrown open to the foreign trade. Monopoly would no doubt have been resumed in 1814, had not the Spanish commerce and industry been paralysed before that year.

Upon the dissolution of the Spanish sovereignty in America numerous republics sprang into existence. Every important province proclaimed its independence; and even lesser states in alliance with a stronger power, or acquiring strength by union, established a government of their own. No less than fifteen republics are mentioned, which after a bold and violent struggle revolted from and repudiated their allegiance. Mexico took the lead; Guatemala and Colombia sheltered themselves under her mightier shade; Peru and Chili followed the examples of the northern powers: so that from California in the north to Uruguay in the south the revolutionary impulse was fearlessly reciprocated. The boldness with which these countries emancipated themselves from the bondage of oppressive masters and proclaimed their political organisation created hopes which have not yet been realised. It was expected that as liberty was the cause of the struggle, so freedom would have been insured on the establishment of their government, and liberal institutions erected on the ruins of the old; but the long series of oppressions, civil and religious, which the Spanish Americans had endured had dwarfed their understandings, and rendered them incapable of large and comprehensive ideas of improvement. A blind, bigoted superstition, a confiding reverence in the priesthood—who abuse their trust, and are unfit for the office they assume—a narrow and spare education, a restrictive system of commerce, and monopolies in trade, are elements which nullify the good their declaration of independence was expected to produce.

Mexico at this time comprehended a territory of 1,650,000 square miles, and a population of 7,015,509, according to the census taken in 1842. This calculation, both of extent and people, must be understood as exclusive of Texas, which has since joined the more prosperous congress of the North, and become a member of the United States. The information we can obtain from this or the countries of the south is very incomplete, and much of it great part conjecture, though in no case have we indulged in exaggeration, but rather endeavoured to approximate as near as possible to the truth. The products of this beautiful country have already been described in common with the other districts of Spanish America, it remains therefore for us to glance at its present condition and future prospects. For twenty years Mexico has had to struggle against the anarchy of a military despotism and an unformed constitution. This internal disorganisation has made it a scene of desolation, in which the arts of civilised life, and trade and commerce, have considerably retrograded. Its manufactures in woollens, cottons, gold and silver lace, hats, leather, &c. have hitherto been in a state of decay, but it is hoped will shortly be revived. It has paper-factories, which are in an improving condition, and

some glass-houses, where articles in general use are blown. The gold and silver mines of Nueva Espana are productive in those precious metals, and yield an annual income to the government of 23,000,000 dollars. Those near Guanajuato afforded in seven years—from 1796 to 1803—a total of 40 000,000 dollars. Puebla is considered the principal manufacturing town for cottons, and corresponds to the Manchester of England. Of the commerce of Mexico little can be ascertained with certainty, and that little exhibits it in anything but a favourable light. Vera Cruz, its chief port, is unhealthy, and a bad harbour; so is Tampico. The amount of merchandise imported from the former place in the year 1845 was 30,416 tons, and the quantity exported 31,229 tons, which may be taken for the yearly average; while from the port of Matamoras in 1844 only 2354 tons of merchandises were imported, and 1877 exported. Acapulco, which is situated upon the Pacific, formerly consisted of 400 families—chiefly Chinese, mulattoes, and negroes. Its chief trade was with Manilla; and when the galleons arrived from China, a kind of fair was held at which a brief exchange took place, but as soon as these vessels returned there was no means of maintaining it. It is extremely hot, damp, and unhealthy, and in consequence, though possessed of a fine harbour, unsought, and in a state of decay. The above account of the commerce of Mexico shews sufficiently the paralysed condition of its industry and the poverty of the country. The popular representative system was recognised in 1843 as the basis of government, and upon this principle the administration of affairs is conducted, although it is well known that the will of the army forms the only public opinion in Mexico. Slavery was abolished, and several equitable and liberal institutions proclaimed; but the influence of the ecclesiastical party is so great, that no beneficial reform can be looked for until a radical change in the veneration of the people for the priesthood, in the substance of their knowledge, and the habits they have adopted, has taken place. Of the 7,000,000 inhabitants which it contains, it is asserted that only 700,000 can read or write—that is, one in every seventy; and though there are schools and collegiate establishments, yet the system of education is bad, and vested entirely in the hands of the priests, who teach only the superstitions which favour their interests, and give them a more powerful hold upon the minds of the multitude. The depraved morals of the church are proverbial in Mexico, and there is scarcely a crime perpetrated of which its members are not guilty. The ignorance of the clergy is only surpassed by their bigotry; and these two evils combine to make the country what it is—a theatre of anarchy, oppression, poverty, and crime. The hordes of robbers it nourished during the revolutionary war still continue to annoy its peace; and there is perhaps no country in the world where murder and theft are so prevalent. The public revenue of this extensive country amounts to only 16,500,000 dollars, which is imposed in the most oppressive manner, and impoverishes the people from whom it is collected. The late wars too created a national debt of upwards of 100,000,000 dollars, which presses hard upon the energies and resources of the young republic, and of which 18,000,000 have been raised by loans in the country, and 82,000,000 from foreign states. The navy of Mexico consists of three steam-frigates, two brigs, three schooners, and two gun-boats; while the united and naval forces are estimated at about 40,000 men.

The Mexicans are fond of pleasure and public entertainments. Theatres and balls are crowded by all classes, and the greatest gaiety is kept up throughout the year in the different provinces of the empire. The air is delightfully warm and salubrious, especially in the high table-lands, where the heat of a tropical sun is tempered by the cooling breezes of the Atlantic. Along the line of sea-coast the district is low, marshy, and, as before observed, unhealthy; but the traveller quickly finds the ground rise, and by a gradual, though sharp ascent, he leaves the waters of the ocean far beneath him. To Xalapa, a town situated upon the slope, the inhabitants of Vera Cruz retire during the summer season, making it a place of fashionable resort. But what strikes the observation most is the different garbs which nature assumes. At the foot of the rise the eye is delighted with flowers of the most gorgeous and vivid hues, with trees whose foliage resembles the brilliance of that luminary whose rays it imbibes. As greater elevation is attained, another kind of vegetation presents itself. Trees of a more temperate climate, amongst which may be found the oak, and the pleasant verdure of the spring, please the refreshed sight. Still ascending, all tropical plants are lost, the same herbage is but occasionally visible: firs mingle with the oak, and a colder zone at once announces itself, until, as we proceed higher and higher, the oaks altogether disappear, and forests of waving pines everywhere abound, while nothing but the rugged vegetation of the north can stand the inclemency of those elevated regions.

Of the Valley of the Mexico travellers speak in terms of unmeasured praise. They point to the beautiful plains of Piedmont and the exquisite landscapes of Italy, only to tell how far above them all rise the stupendous and magnificent beauties of Mexican scenery. But in the midst of this paradise they sigh, for soul is wanting. The Valley of the Mexico, though rich in verdure, surrounded with lofty hills, clad with ever-blooming forests, canopied by a cerulean and changeless sky, bathed in an atmosphere of balm, and teeming with well-watered lakes, is silent and desolate. In the midst of this desert-paradise, as approached from the hills, may be seen in the far distance the capital of Mexico rising with majestic beauty from its bed of waters, and relieving the lifeless features of the surrounding prospect. A long line of turrets, domes, and spires, occasionally screened by intervening trees, planted along its numerous avenues, indicates the city; and there we may recognise the spot where the ancient kings of the empire used to hold sway, where Cortez established the sovereignty of Spain in America, and where probably will be fixed at no great distance in futurity the centre of another mighty power.

That vast extent of territory lying along the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea was formerly comprehended under the general term of Colombia, but now comprises three important republics—Ecuador, New Granada, and Venezuela. Independent of any other power, they have commenced a career which, by good government and a proper direction of their energies and resources, will place them among the first states in the South American continent, and render them wealthy and prosperous. The conduct of Spain towards her colonies, which has been already reprobated, was felt equally in Colombia; and the struggle that has lately given these republics their liberty is, we trust, only the first energies of an

awaking mind. It is estimated that they comprise not less than 900,000 square miles, but little of it has been explored, and still less cultivated. The inhabitants consist, as do those of all the countries of this continent, of the descendants of the Spaniards, Mestizos or half-castes, and Indians; but when it is remembered that this vast region is occupied by only a little more than 3,000,000 of people, with the exception of a few tribes which could not be brought within the calculations of the census, it may easily be imagined how imperfectly its resources are developed, and what a wide field lies open for the labour and enterprise of an aspiring people. Some large and beautiful rivers flow through these countries, among which we may mention the Orinoco and its tributaries. Carthagena contains one of the first harbours in the world, and has a population of 10,000. Cheap cloths and stuffs from England, velvets, ribbons, and paper from France, constitute its chief imports; but the trade is subject to great variation, and, like that of Vera Cruz at present, not of much value. Savanilla exports sugar, cotton, coffee, hides, and corn, and the trade of this city is annually increasing. Venezuela, the capital on the Gulf of Maracaybo, manufactures tanned leather, blankets, refined sugar, cured hides, Indian mats, cotton table-cloths, &c., but the trade of these is principally carried on by foreigners. Cotton, cacao, indigo, cochineal, ariato-wood for dyeing, &c. are grown in the rural districts, and exported from Caraccas, but its commerce is merely nominal.

The whole of these regions consist of splendid fertile districts, the soil of which is capable of growing the richest and most valuable plants. The ground is very elevated in many parts, and formed of table-land on an extension of the Andes, which diverge along the northern portion of South America parallel with the rivers Marañon and Orinoco. Santa Fe Bogota, the capital of New Granada, is situated 8958 feet above the level of the sea, and possesses a superb cathedral, three colleges, and 40,000 inhabitants. Behind it rises a mountain 2000 feet perpendicular, forming a grand and magnificent background to the city. Quito, the capital of Ecuador, is still more elevated, being 9543 feet above the sea, and from its terraces may be seen one of the most imposing prospects that can be imagined. Situated in the midst of lofty mountains, it commands the view of seven peaks, whose crests are covered with perpetual snow, and present from the distance a spectacle to be equalled in no other portion of the world.

Between Mexico and Ecuador lie two small republics, Yucatan and Guatemala, containing an area of upwards of 170,000 square miles and a population of 2,000,000. These were formerly in federation with Mexico, but owing to internal disputes have since become separate and independent, and it is to be hoped will never be reannexed to a state which has exhibited itself as peculiarly devoid of political wisdom. Yucatan is in a very wild and backward condition, with a hot and unhealthy climate, and vast forests abounding in fierce animals and venomous reptiles. It possesses, however, excellent pasture-land, which feeds fine herds of cattle, and is capable of infinite improvement. Its towns and villages are neat and regular, adorned with spacious cathedrals and elegant churches; but the population is extremely ignorant and superstitious. The trade of this country is small and its manufactures unimportant. Although Yucatan

wears the appearance of a country sadly neglected, yet here and there the *hamlets* of wealthy residents give it an air of life, and the scenery around their dwellings is dotted with limited patches of cultivation.

Merida is the capital, and commands a fine position for commerce with the countries of the two continents, the West India Islands, and Europe; it has a population exceeding 37,000, and there is little doubt that this country, under a good and enlightened government, might become rich and productive—especially as it produces the mahogany and logwood trees, the former of which is considered to be the most magnificent specimen of vegetation in the world, and the trade in which might be made exceedingly valuable. Whatever has been the past history of Guatemala, a new era is bursting upon it. The combined energies of the English and Americans of the United States will give a stimulus to the industry of the country, and introduce a degree of political knowledge unknown on the shores of the Mexican Gulf, save in Texas and Florida, and the kingdoms of South America. The projected railway and canal which are to cross the Isthmus, and unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, cannot but affect these districts for good. The intercommunication with all parts of the world that will thus take place, and the centring the commerce of so many countries into one focus for transit, must quickly create another order of things, and leaven the manners, habits, and knowledge of the people with the benefits of European civilisation. The capital, New Guatemala, is situated on a large and fertile plain, and contains 40,000 inhabitants; and though trade is neglected, the industrious portion of the population exhibits great skill in weaving woollen cloths, making wooden implements, earthenware, &c. and many articles that might be profitably exported. Its mountains, plateaus, valleys, ravines, forests, lakes, rivers, bays, and harbours, bespeak the riches of Guatemala; and there is no doubt that when the projected improvements are completed, this country will rise one of the first among the young republics, and become a powerful commercial nation.

Of the other republics of South America, Peru and Chili hold the chief place. Uruguay and Paraguay are at present of such slight note and importance that the bare mention of their existence may suffice in a paper like the present. Yet no part of the world affords greater facility for internal intercourse and communication with other countries than these states. The rivers which flow through them are exceedingly numerous, broad, and deep, and by their irrigation render the soil rich and fertile.

The Argentine Republic, again, presents a congress of states banded together for their mutual protection, and calculated, when internal wars have ceased and the country become settled, to constitute a powerful confederation. It already sends forth sugar, cinnamon, indigo, cotton, pimento, wax, &c. and receives in exchange Paraguay tea, swan-skins, thread, &c. A large trade, however, is carried on in slaves, which are imported from the African coast. The exports of La Plata and Buenos Ayres, consisting of agricultural produce, gold, and silver, amount to about £3,000,000 annually. The merchants of Buenos Ayres once a year cross the lofty chain of the Andes to St Jago and Valparaiso, to barter their goods and procure fresh supplies of merchandise to sell in their native city. The journey is performed on mules, but attended with many dangers,

not only from the snows of the mountains, but from the tribes of native Indians, who scour the plains between the hills and plunder every company they can overpower.

A military despotism controls the fortunes of Peru. Although possessing liberty and the free institutions of a popular government, they enjoy but the shadow of each. The real power exists in the hands of a few, and not unfrequently is wielded by the will of an individual who has acquired an absolute authority. The appearance of Peru is that of a country in rapid decay, and there is an aspect of desolation about its most populous cities that indicates its real condition. The riches of her mines have led statesmen and governors to neglect the more healthy sources of wealth—the cultivation of the soil and the encouragement of manufactures. A system of monopoly exists which entirely paralyses her energies: labour and industry are impolitically interfered with; the exports of copper-bars from Lima have been confined to one person; and the valuable fishing-beds on the coast prohibited to foreigners: and as though this were not enough to cripple her, the coin of the country has been tampered with by the government, and even base metal issued from the mint. Owing to the unsettled condition of the country, the position of the people is very wretched. They are much addicted to gambling and gaiety, and spectacles are frequent in their capital; but such is the insecurity of property and life, that no one dares travel alone after dark; and persons who have been visiting at Callao—the seaport of Lima, situated only seven miles distant—form themselves into companies when they wish to return home.

The Peruvians, the ancient inhabitants of the country, form the principal portion of the population, and look forward to a time when they shall sit down under the mild rule of their Incas. The population consists of about 1,500,000, of which Lima contains 70,000. Peru is subject to earthquakes, and the buildings of the cities exhibit the marks of frequent shocks. In order to diminish the mischief, most of the houses are only one storey high, and built of light material. A sixty-gun frigate in the harbour of Callao was once lifted up 150 feet and cast inland to a considerable distance, where a monument was erected and still exists to commemorate the event.

The physical aspect of Peru is mountainous. The Andes entirely occupy its western portion, and rise to a very great elevation. In these mountains, however, lie its principal wealth. Here are found the silver and gold which made the conquest of the country so important an object to Pizarro, and stimulated him to commit the most atrocious cruelties to become master of its precious metals. Its richest mines are near Pasco, in the Plain of San Juan. It is estimated that they formerly produced £1,800,000 annually. A great decrease, however, took place, but from 1825 to 1839 there has been a gradual increase. In the former year there were 228 bars brought to the mint, and in the latter 1210, or an increase of 982 bars, and the value from 56,791 Spanish marcs to 279,260. On the hills around Pasco feed herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and on the margin of the Lake Chinchaicoca the tame llama and shy vicuña are to be found in great numbers. On the eastern side of the Andes Peru stretches out into immense plains, covered with rank herbage and

untrodden forests. The fertility of the soil is very great, and produces every kind of tropical tree and plant in abundance. But the whole is an uncultivated wilderness, traversed by wild beasts, and giving shelter to birds of exquisite plumage. A tribe of Indians may occasionally be seen emerging from its deep recesses, but as they live entirely by hunting, and have no settled habitation, they may be regarded as being part of the same picture, and the scene only wears a more savage character from their presence. The social and political condition of Peru is altogether unsatisfactory; although a period of peace and a vigorous president may do much to alleviate its condition.

We turn, however, with pleasure from Peru to the rising republic of Chili. Not possessing the rich minerals of the former country, she was much neglected by Spain, and regarded as an appendage to the government of Lima; but no sooner did she throw off the yoke of Spain than she set herself vigorously to maintain her independence and strengthen her power. To shew the manner in which she has acquitted herself we turn to Valparaiso, the principal port on the Pacific. In 1707 the township was sold for a little more than £300; in 1819 it consisted of ten or twelve huts, and now it contains 40,000 inhabitants, and individual houses fetch an annual rent of more than £1000. Within the last ten years the town has doubled its size, and no doubt will continue progressing in a rapid ratio for the next ten. The whole of Chili is favoured with a more temperate climate than Peru, and hence its people are more hardy and industrious. They are exceedingly hospitable to strangers, enjoy the moderate pleasures of life, and are much attached to their homes. The administration of public affairs is better conducted than in any other country in South America, the police is more energetic and efficient, and the whole state of the country more settled and peaceful. The system of education introduced into their schools and colleges is superior, and the classes more numerous attended. The religion is Roman Catholic, but it is to be observed that the Chilianos have repudiated the interference of the pope in the appointment of bishops and archbishops. Favoured, however, as this country is in a social point of view, the majority of the people are still defective in that true liberty for which they fought. Universal-suffrage is granted by the laws of the constitution to every one above twenty-five years of age, yet the great holders of land are sure to be returned, and the colonel of a regiment must by no means be opposed at an election. The peasants of the agricultural districts are in reality serfs, the landlords acquiring absolute authority over them.

The silver mines of Chili are not so rich as those of Peru, though, if properly worked, they would yield no inconsiderable income. The three years after 1836 upwards of £1,139,913 worth of silver bars and coins was exported, besides gold and copper, which are procured in abundance. The iron mines are also sources of great wealth, and the miners annually extract vast quantities of the ore. In fact, the mountains of Chili are full of valuable material; and it only requires economical companies, steady enterprise, facilities of conveyance, and a good market, to make this country blest with an affluent, intelligent, and prosperous people.

An incident of rather an accidental character threw into the way of Portugal a kingdom no less than two hundred times as large as itself. Cabral, a celebrated navigator, in order to avoid the calms he had

experienced off the coast of Africa in his voyages to the east, sailed from the Cape Verd Islands in a south-westerly direction, and discovered Brazil. This event occurred in the year 1500, or eight years subsequent to the first voyage of Columbus. Having taken possession of it in the usual manner, he despatched a vessel with the news to Lisbon, and left two felons, whom he had on board, with the natives to learn the language. Some contentions arose between Spain and Portugal about the bounds of the new territory, but it was finally settled by agreement; and the rivers Maranon and La Plata were admitted to be its northern and southern boundaries, whilst its extension in the west remained an undecided question from ignorance of the interior.

Unfortunately Brazil was immediately made a penal settlement: not long after its establishment, however, a circumstance occurred which proved favourable to the progress of the colony. A violent persecution was excited against the Jews in Portugal in the year 1548, which was inflamed to such a heat that their most valuable property was confiscated and themselves banished to Brazil. These unfortunate men were noted for their integrity and prudence, and readily obtained sums of money in loans from the merchants with whom they had transacted business. On their arrival they directed attention towards the cultivation of the soil, which they found rich and grateful; they introduced the sugar-cane from Madeira, and the trade in that article soon became a source of considerable profit to the planters. The whole country felt the benefit of these exertions, and every day became more flourishing. Many settlements were made in different parts; San Salvador, Pernambuco, St Vincent, Porto Seguro, and other cities were built, and formed commercial emporiums of importance.

In the year 1620, however, the Dutch, jealous of the maritime and colonial influence of Portugal in Africa, the East Indies, and America, made a descent upon Brazil, and subdued it. For some time, by the discipline and prudence of Maurice, Prince of Nassau, the government of this new dependency was well managed; but a company having been formed of men every way incompetent to fulfil the arduous duties of their office, for the purpose of administering the affairs of that country in Brazil, a sudden change took place. Their object was to make as much as possible out of the recent conquest, regardless of the future. Unjust exactions were imposed upon the Portuguese planters in the shape of heavy duties. The caprice of these new governors enacted that all payments should be made in specie, brazil-wood, and sugar; and with many other unnecessary and unjust restrictions they offended the pride of the merchants. Violent discontent was accordingly excited throughout the country; the Portuguese inhabitants rose to arms; and by the assistance of the home government, which was only waiting its opportunity, defeated the Dutch, and in the year 1644 expelled them from the country, after they had possessed it and tyrannised over the people eighteen years.

It must here be observed to the honour of the Dutch, that no sooner had the Portuguese commenced colonising Brazil, than they endeavoured to improve the condition of the natives. Instead of extirpating them, as had been the rule of the Spaniards, they treated them with much kindness, and taught them the arts of civilised life. This grand labour of love was effected chiefly by the intrepid zeal and devotedness of the Jesuits, who acted as mis-

sionaries among them, and proved in every respect the friends of the natives. These they found gentle and tractable, though addicted to all the customs of barbaric life, and guilty of some of its most brutalising usages, such as feasting on the bodies of enemies. By patient expostulation, however, many tribes were successfully weaned from their inhuman practices, and better habits and purer knowledge were inculcated.

Brazil continued to flourish and its resources to be improved by the industry of the colonists, until in the year 1699 gold, and again in the year 1730, diamonds were discovered in profusion. This proved highly detrimental to the country, and sowed the seeds of decay. The wealth that dazzled the eyes of the people and their governors was unreal, and Brazil in this moment of brilliant expectations was suffering a hectic triumph. The ordinary occupations of life, the steady objects of industry, were thrown aside—agriculture was abandoned for the gold-diggings; to the mines the mass of the people flocked, to accumulate as they hoped, with little trouble and less time, enormous wealth; and what humanity has the more to lament, the demand for slaves became greater and their prices immense. The tranquillity which had so long existed was broken. Other nations desired to share in the rich spoil of the earth; and Rio Janeiro, which had risen into rapid importance on account of its proximity to the mines, was twice taken and destroyed by the French. Whether this abandonment of agriculture and manufactures would have proved fatal in its result after the excitement had subsided and the people recovered from their frenzy, we have no means of judging, for a man arose in the councils of Portugal, whose policy directly tended to the ruin of his country. The Marquis de Pombal, minister of Charles III., was fired with the laudable ambition of raising Portugal to the rank of a first-rate maritime power. With this view he introduced the restrictive system. Foreigners were excluded from the ports of its colonies, monopolies were established, and the trade of three large and flourishing districts limited to one association. The failure of this scheme was soon experienced in the decreased number of vessels that frequented the different ports. But his policy yet wanted the final stroke. He entertained a violent prejudice against the order of the Jesuits, and imagined them to be at the root of everything evil. For this reason he expelled them from Brazil, and thus withdrew a class of men who, whatever might have been their conduct and discipline in other countries, had always been the promoters of order and peace in this, and the sole instructors of its vast population. From the period of their expulsion the Portuguese settlers began to retrograde, and the aborigines to fall back into barbarism.

For a short time Brazil recovered, and basked in the welcome presence of the royal House of Braganza. The victories of Napoleon and his generals had extended to Portugal, which was reduced to a province. The king and court of Lisbon abandoned the defence of their country, and took refuge in the distant and neglected shores of the western empire. The ports were thrown open to foreign trade, which immediately gave vitality to its commerce, energy to its people, and prosperity to the country. The presence of the royal family united the several provinces, which had gradually been becoming disaffected and jealous of each other. Books were imported, schools were established, European manners introduced,

and in 1815 Brazil was declared a kingdom. This succession of good-fortune wonderfully improved the condition of this favoured country, which continued until the year 1821, when the impatience and jealousy of the Cortes at Lisbon recalled the king, and, with the view of forcing Brazil into the position of an abject dependency, rescinded the wise measures of the preceding years. This conduct produced the most violent commotions, and the blind opposition of the court to the interests of the colonists drove them to extreme measures. At this juncture the Brazilians offered to the son of the king—who had been left behind as regent—the crown and sovereignty, and it was only when he saw that the people would resort to more desperate measures that he consented to accept the terms. His coronation took place on the 21st of September 1822, and he ascended the throne under the title of Emperor of Brazil.

From that period to the present Brazil has been the theatre of constant antagonism between the democrats and loyalists. The parties into which the country is divided are little else than violent factions endeavouring to obtain the ascendancy without any other ulterior objects than power and selfish aggrandisement. The violence of these political bands rose to such a height, and became so unmanageable, that the emperor, after a turbulent reign of a few years, thought it prudent to abdicate, which he did in the year 1831, in favour of his son, then a child. Since his accession he has had the task of appeasing a turbulent and wavering multitude—the democrats openly demanding the abolition of all sovereignty, and the royalists maintaining the cause of order and tranquillity against the latter's contentious spirit. These contests have occasionally been so strong as not only to weaken, but paralyse the power of the ministry, and, in fact, of all parties; and, what is no slight disgrace to the nation, the purity of election is sometimes so scandalised, that the king in 1842 refused to sanction the existence of the assembly, and ordered a new poll. It is more than probable that, unless some violent revolution occurs which suggests another course to him, the king will have to contend to the last against these distempered factions. Until a more settled condition of the country be obtained, its improvement is of course hopeless.

The population of this empire is perhaps more mixed than that of any other country in the world. It consists of Europeans; mulattoes—or a mixed caste between whites and blacks; Mamalucoes—a mixed caste between whites and aborigines; aborigines in a domesticated state called Cabocloes; Indians in a savage state; free negroes born in Brazil; manumitted Africans; Mestizoes or Zamboes, between the Mamalucoes and negroes: all of which amounted in 1844 to 4,450,249, of whom 363,973 are slaves.

Religion—which is Roman Catholic—and education are both, according to the latest statistical accounts, in a very depressed condition. The revenues of the church are so small that few respectable persons will undertake its duties; and those who do officiate are ill-instructed, and in some cases totally ignorant of all learning except the bare repetition of the prayers of the missal. Brazil may perhaps be alone in this respect; but it is an undisputed fact, that the priesthood is fast diminishing in numbers, and that there are many districts and parishes without any clergyman to attend to the spiritual wants of the people. The prospects

of education, though not bright, are better than those of religion, since the former is not absolutely retrogressive. Of late years efforts have been made, and with some success, to introduce into the curriculum branches of a higher character, and the colleges founded at Rio Janeiro have produced a number of excellent scholars. This fact would encourage us to hope that, aware of the advantage practically of a good education, these of her citizens who have distinguished themselves in her public seminaries will not allow the government to rest until it has done something for its dissemination amongst the people.

The lakes of Brazil are numerous as well as the rivers. Lake Xarayes in the wet season covers many thousand square miles, and looks like an inland sea. The Marañon, the noblest river in the world, with its countless tributaries, belongs to this country; while Rio Grande de Sol, Parana, Francisco, Rio Para, and innumerable others, water its plains, and afford every facility for internal navigation. Brazil produces in abundance sugar, cotton, cacao, yams, maize, tobacco, coffee, &c. Herds of cattle and horses wander over its vast plains in almost a wild state, while its forests are inhabited by beasts of prey. Gold and precious stones, amongst which the diamond may be mentioned, have been discovered in great abundance, and these have as yet formed its staple wealth; but lead and iron are also amongst its productions; and as the country becomes more settled, more wealthy, and more enterprising, its innumerable resources will no doubt be gradually ascertained and developed.

Gold-dust, sugar, cotton, oils, and spices of every kind, medicines, India-rubber, and choice woods, form the principal articles of exportation; while the ports are open to foreign produce, and receive in exchange every description of manufactured metals, glass, paper, earthenware, furniture, wearing-apparel, and every necessary and convenience of life which Europe produces. Para has a considerable trade with the interior by means of the Araguaya. Maranhão has a rising trade, and is considered the best built city in Brazil. Parahiba, Bahia or San Salvador, and Pernambuco, are fine cities, and carry on a considerable trade in sugars and cottons. Rio de Janeiro, however, is the capital of the empire, and commands a central position. It is perhaps one of the loveliest spots of the world. The entrance to the bay is narrow; mountains and peaks of every shape crown it on either side. The town is built on the west side of the bay, formed by the *déboché* of the river of Janeiro, and has a very picturesque appearance from the sea: here embowered deep in trees; there lining the shores of quiet coves, or hanging on crags amid huge boulders of rock, of nature's own architecture. The houses, churches, and public edifices rise amidst the hills, and are brightly vivid with their white frontage standing out in bold relief from their verdant background. The haven is one of the most splendid in the world, and though secluded from the restless billows of the Atlantic, is still within hearing of its deep and mellow murmuring. Here vessels of every nation ride in safety after their long voyage; and here, in the calm waters of its harbour, may be seen the flags of England, France, Holland, Denmark, and the United States, displaying their gay colours, and mingling their bright streamers in the brilliant effulgence of an unclouded sun. Rio Janeiro contains 250,000 out of the small population of Brazil

—a circumstance which has given rise to the facetious saying that Rio is the Brazil. Trial by jury in criminal and sometimes in civil suits has been established; twenty pounds a year from income, trade, or labour; admit to the suffrage. Members of any religious fraternity are not allowed to vote, but all free blacks are. There are very few troops, and these principally watch the frontiers. The police force is required to be large in consequence of the number of slaves in Brazil; the principal employment of such officers is to hunt for those who have run away from their masters, and to reclaim them. The navy is now dwindled down to a thing of little importance; formerly it was large and efficient. These features in the aspect of the country afford a general idea of the whole picture, but there is one stain upon its surface which must not be overlooked. Previous to 1830 the number of slaves annually imported amounted to 40,000; since the prohibition of their importation, however, the numbers have fallen to 11,000; but as two-thirds are estimated to die during the voyage, upwards of 33,000 must be exported annually from the coast of Africa. The currency is paper—the gold and silver being mere articles of commerce, and consequently subject to great fluctuation. The revenue of the country is now about £4,500,000, and there is a public debt, but of no great magnitude.

We have now, as succinctly as possible, endeavoured to give a fair picture of the true condition of the Spanish and Portuguese American settlements. We have pointed out the arbitrary manner in which both these nations regulated every particular relating to the commercial enterprise and internal government of their colonies; we have seen that with the means of becoming first among the countries of the world, resources have been neglected, capital misused, and exertions misapplied; we have perceived that education is extremely deficient, religion bigoted and intolerant, the government oppressive and unjust; and we find that instead of riches poverty has been the result; instead of strength, weakness; instead of prosperity, ruin. Looking forward along the vista of the future we see these enslaved and dependent provinces bursting the fetters of tyrannical government—establishing constitutions for themselves, and declaring their total separation and independence: we see them ambitious of becoming free, striving to acquire power and influence, and seeking a more noble name and station among the empires of the world. Wherever there is a desire to accomplish a good thing, one-half the difficulty is surmounted, the way will doubtless follow the will, and necessity still be the parent of something new, of something better. But although the American republics may eventually become powerful, wise, and free, a long series of contention seems to lie before them: there is a tyranny which they have yet to cast off, a bondage from which they have yet to emancipate themselves—which is less felt because it presses not so much on the senses as on the mind, but which is not less cruel, less powerful, less oppressive. The republics of South America must learn a purer religion; they must learn to tolerate liberal opinions; they must learn to regard mankind as one brotherhood on earth and in heaven; they must comprehend the grand principles of religious philosophy before they can hope to attain to that progression and enlightenment which mark the people of the great northern Republic.

FRENCH AND BRITISH COLONIES.

We enter now upon the not least interesting portion of our subject—a portion of it which affords perhaps even greater variety than that we have already passed over. It embraces every change of scenery and climate that can be met with from the cold and icy regions of the north to the fiery regions of the tropics; and it presents a picture of intelligence and prosperity unequalled in the annals of the world. The colonisation of the West Indies and Mexico, and the possession of Peru and Chili, were achieved with comparatively little trouble and danger, and even enriched the avaricious adventurers by an immediate harvest of gold and spices. In the north of America, however, the difficulties to be overcome were great, and the dangers formidable. The French, so early as 1524, attempted to make discoveries, and to form settlements along its shores. Verazzani, and Jacques Cartier were sent out by Francis I. for that purpose, but both the expeditions failed. Admiral Coligni afterwards formed the design of colonising Florida, with a view to remove the distressed Huguenots beyond the reach of their persecutors; but the emigrants were shortly afterwards massacred by the Spaniards, upon whom a severe but just retaliation was made by Dominique de Gourgue, a soldier of an intrepid and heroic spirit. This happened in 1567.*

The religious disputes that distracted France at this period and for some time subsequently prevented her from directing attention towards the formation of a foreign empire; but in 1604 settlements were effected in Nova Scotia—called by her Acadia—with great success, and all the territory extending along the southern bank of the St Lawrence was claimed by her. With the object of pursuing the fur-trade, the French crossed that gigantic stream and established stations up the country to facilitate the conveyance of their merchandise, so that Canada was also annexed to the other countries they had seized. But the determined hostility of the Indians, especially the Iroquois, caused the settlers constant apprehension, and frequently reduced them to the last stage of despair. Instead of being, like the Peruvians or even Mexicans, of a tame disposition, they were men of an indomitable spirit—strong, active, and warlike, cunning and crafty, and skilled in every artifice and deceit that could lure an enemy to his destruction. Nova Scotia, however, seems to have been the most rapid in its improvement; and in a short time the country was parcelled out into neat farms, industry reaped a plentiful harvest, mills

* The pride and jealousy of the Spaniards could not endure the existence of a French colony in America; accordingly in a time of peace Philip II. sent Menendez to exterminate the French Protestants in Florida. He then sailed to Fort Caroline, the settlement, with a sufficient force, captured it, and hung on the surrounding trees all the colonists who could not escape, where they were suffered to remain with this inscription over them: 'These wretches have been executed, not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.' Dominique de Gourgue, fired with patriotism, and ambitious of avenging his country's honour, sold his estate, equipped three vessels, chose a band of gallant men, sailed to Florida, attacked the fort of the murderers, and after displaying great courage and ability, captured it, and hung his prisoners on the very trees on which they had formerly hung the French, with this inscription: 'Hung, not as Spaniards, but as assassins;' and returned home in triumph to his country.

were established, and an air of peace and comfort given to the new settlement. England, however, endeavoured to wrest this beautiful region out of the hands of the French, and several attempts were made from the year 1621 to 1632 to accomplish the design, but all failed; and the treaty of St Germain, which was signed about the same time, gave the latter peaceable possession. In 1664 it again fell into the hands of the English under the Protectorate, but was restored by the treaty of Breda to the French, by whom it was retained until 1716, when General Nicholson, by order of the British government, made a complete conquest of it.

The illustrious Champlain, who was appointed governor of the indefinite territory of Canada, founded Quebec in 1608. The situation of the city is admirably chosen, being built upon a bold promontory that stands out into the waters of the St Lawrence and commands its spacious channel. The harbour, capable of holding all the fleets of Europe, lies below, and affords ample accommodation for vessels. Montreal was placed higher up the stream, and made the emporium of the fur-trade, and several other forts were erected for the protection of the country.

The Jesuits, who had in Brazil proved themselves the friends of the natives, persevered here with untiring energy in the conversion of the Indians. Institutions were founded in Quebec and other places for their education. The principal college was a large quadrangular building, containing innumerable courts, which they made the centre of their operations, and where dwelt the heads of the order. In this edifice they formed plans for new missions, and from it issued their mandates. From hence they spread themselves along the banks of the St Lawrence and its tributaries, and formed stations on the Saghuny River, the river Detroit, at the commanding passes of the country, between the Ottawa, the great lakes, the Mississippi, and they penetrated even into the wildest and most remote provinces of those immense regions.

Canada, however, languished under the negligence and supineness of the company which had undertaken its establishment. Montreal, which had been made the centre of its internal trade, was invested in 1647 by the Indians, and again in 1658, when that city, together with Quebec, was attacked. The governor succeeded in repelling them on this occasion; but shortly after the Iroquois, 1200 strong, landed on the island of Montreal; plundered and burnt the houses and corn-fields; massacred men, women, and children; cut to pieces 100 of the regular troops, took 200 prisoners, and destroyed the forts of Frontenac and Niagara. To add to the calamity, an epidemic had broken out amongst the Canadians, and they were in great distress from want of provisions. Thus famine, pestilence, and war seemed combined to exterminate this colony, when the Count de Frontenac, who had been sent out by the French court, came to its relief, attacked the Indians, drove them back to their woods and wigwams, and pursued them with fire and sword into the innermost recesses of the forests. This infliction demonstrated the power of the French, and served as a warning to their enemies.

If the French felt so severely the disastrous incursions of the Indians, they were no less frequently disturbed and harassed by the hostility of the English, who, from their new settlements in North America, displayed the same inveterate hatred and jealousy of the French name as

had actuated their forefathers in Europe. In 1627, Quebec fell into their hands, but was restored by the treaty of St Germain: in 1703 an attempt was made upon Montreal, which failed, it is asserted, from the dissensions among the officers in command of the naval and land forces; while many petty attacks, too numerous to be described, filled up the interval, all of which bore the character of border warfare. So fatal had the continuance of these wars been to the progress of the colony, that while the English settlements in the same continent could raise upwards of 60,000 men capable of bearing arms, Canada could not muster 4500. A protracted state of tranquillity now proved favourable to the colony, which might have continued much longer had not the governor, the Marquis du Quesne, invaded the British territories, and in 1757 taken Fort George, where the barbarities committed by the Indians were such that the indignation of the whole nation was roused against the French. Active preparations for vengeance were immediately set on foot. A simultaneous attack was determined upon. Forts Niagara, Triconderago, Crown Point, and Quebec itself, were assailed at the same time. The defence and assault of the last-mentioned place were conducted by men of equal bravery and equal generosity, and both fell in the engagement. Wolfe, who directed and led the British up the steep of Abraham's Heights, was wounded in the onset, and expired in the moment of victory. The Marquis de Montcalm, who sustained the attack with no less courage and intrepidity, received several injuries from which he died a few days afterwards. Thus, in the acquisition of this extensive territory, the joy was shaded by the loss of her commander on the part of Britain, whilst the French had to bewail a twofold calamity--her influence in the West departed with the life of him who fought and fell to maintain it.

The attempts made to colonise Louisiana proved ruinous to those who undertook the enterprise. Many were lured from their homes to explore its wild and inhospitable tracts in the hope of finding gold, and discovered upon their arrival that the country was totally destitute of even the commonest necessities of life. The delusive expectations held out by the government and the projectors of the Mississippi Scheme are so well known, that an allusion to them here is all that is requisite. The settlement at Biloxi, to which many emigrants flocked in 1718 and 1719, proved pestilential: many perished by disease, some of starvation, while others penetrated into the woods and became morally as well as socially mingled with the Indians. Some, wandering up the long course of the Mississippi, found a refuge in the settlements of Canada; and five years later the rest were transferred to the mouth of that vast river, to establish another colony, of which the city of New Orleans was to be the capital. The local disadvantages of the new city were great, yet it struggled against them; the social difficulties it had to contend with were not few, yet it has surmounted them all. When it was ceded to Spain by France it contained 6000 inhabitants; it was afterwards sold to the United States, and now forms a very valuable and important emporium of that Union.

The first attempts of the English to found a colony in North America terminated in the same disasters which the French had to encounter in Newfoundland, Canada, and Louisiana. The name of Sir Walter Raleigh is connected with two expeditions which, however, failed; and so late

as 1602 no English settlement existed in the Western Continent. The first permanent establishment was effected at James's River in Virginia—a name then given to all of North America facing the Atlantic—on a site calculated to add strength and security to the town, which, in honour of the reigning sovereign, was called James's Town. Ample power was vested in the hands of a council for the administration of the affairs of this new settlement, a proceeding which exhibited the prudence and foresight of the British government. The liberty of enacting its local laws was granted, together with the right of inflicting punishment, except in the case of death, when the power was reserved for the crown; land was held by the same tenure as in England, and a community of labour enjoined for five years. Among other causes that tended to foster a spirit of emigration, religious persecution was not the least. The Huguenots of France and Switzerland were the most enterprising colonists in Canada and Nova Scotia, and endured hardships and privations with a fortitude and patience that nothing but the fervour of faith could inspire. In England the same kind of intolerance which drove these men from their homes was exhibited on the part of the church and state in their efforts to carry out a plan of uniformity in worship, obnoxious to many good and conscientious men, who chose rather to incur the penalty of disobedience than comply with what they in their hearts could not assent to. Others conceived and organised a system of colonisation as a means of escape from beyond the sphere of the church's authority. Accordingly, in 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers left their native land, and sought a new home and a new country on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. This district they called New England, and its capital Boston. In 1623 the Catholics, following the examples of the Puritans, colonised Maryland; and in 1682 Pennsylvania was colonised by the Quakers. The illustrious founder of this colony conceiving that the natives were the true owners of the land, by the unalienable law of occupancy, purchased it fairly from the Indians—a circumstance which created a friendly feeling between his people and the natives, and the benefit of which he afterwards experienced in the amicable intercourse carried on between them. Such was the rapid growth of his settlement, that within one year from its foundation the town consisted of eighty houses and cottages for the workmen and merchants.

To these colonies the same privileges had been granted which the settlers in Virginia enjoyed. But in 1663 a plan of colonisation was introduced of a very different character, and which proved highly unsatisfactory. An attempt was made to introduce the feudal system, and to establish an aristocracy of landed power and great influence. For this purpose a royal charter was bestowed upon several noblemen, and an immense tract of territory in Carolina. The constitution framed for this settlement placed the supreme power in the hands of the lords, who received the honourable appellation of Lords-Proprietors. They gave their assent or veto to all laws, appointed all offices, and bestowed all titles of dignity. Two other branches were established analogous to the legislature of England. Three ranks or classes of nobility were created, according to the extent of their landed possessions, and were called barons, cassiques, and landgraves. This body was the Upper House; the representatives of the different towns and provinces formed the Lower House. Thus the parliament of Carolina was

assimilated to the parliament of this country. Charleston was made the capital, and £12,000 was quickly expended on the new settlement. Universal toleration was one grand feature in its fundamental laws. Numerous dissenters consequently flocked to this quarter and speedily outnumbered the party of the established church. An attempt to exclude the new-comers from political privileges on the ground of religious opinion soon kindled a flame of contention that could not be extinguished. Riots and tumults ensued, and the whole colony was violently distracted. The lords-proprietors also fell into grievous disputes with the people, and a species of civil-war raged amongst them; the Indians, who had been provoked by some unjust and dishonest conduct, were hovering over the borders of the province like a cloud, and the condition of the colony was becoming every hour more and more critical, when the resignation of the lords-proprietors of their charter restored order and peace, and saved the settlement, the constitution of which was then assimilated to that of the other states of Anglo-America. So rapidly had the spirit of colonisation progressed, that within forty years settlements had been formed in Rhode Island, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and North and South Carolina, all of which continued in a flourishing condition, and amply rewarded the activity and industry of the colonists.

We are now arrived at a period when a mighty revolution changed the destinies of these rising states, and an era of unexampled brilliance was about to open upon them. The struggle for independence which the Anglo-Americans carried on so bravely against the stubborn political bigotry of England, and which achieved for them a glory, an empire, and a name, was not unprovoked or unpremeditated. So far back as the year 1755 the government of Great Britain began to change its policy with regard to its American colonies. A jealousy of their increasing wealth induced it to discourage the manufactures of the States; and for this purpose each province was restricted to the use of its own. As the suppression of the contraband trade with the Spanish American settlements had cut off the only supply of gold the Americans possessed, a commercial panic was created, which affected the merchants of Great Britain. Protests were accordingly made both by the English merchants and the colonists against the measure, but they received no redress, the government being deaf to all appeal. In 1763 the treaty consequent upon the conquest of Canada gave England a preponderating influence in North America. From the arctic regions to the Floridas her sovereignty was acknowledged. But this vast acquisition only dazzled her with vain glory, and impelled her into a course of action at once unjust and impolitic, which proved that in the midst of the elements of strength there is frequently a principle at work which eventually subverts the brightest hopes of ambition.

The expenses that had been incurred during the late war, and especially the war with Canada, had increased the national debt to an enormous amount. It was suggested, that as America had profited by this war, she should also contribute her share to the liquidation of the national burden. But here was involved a great principle: she was unrepresented in the British parliament, and refused to be taxed without her own consent. They thought of Hampden and the ship-money of Charles I., which had driven their forefathers to those very shores; and they resisted, unani-

mously but firmly, every attempt of the British parliament to enact a law which placed them in a position little above that of bondsmen. In 1765 the Stamp Act was passed by the Grenville administration; but in consequence of the disturbances produced by it in all the provinces, and especially in Massachusetts and Virginia, it was repealed the following year by the Rockingham ministry; but the addition of an obnoxious and irritating clause, to the effect that parliament was supreme in all cases, qualified the good it might have produced by calming the minds of the people. In 1767 duties on tea, paper, glass, and colours were established by the Revenue Act. The same opposition was renewed by the colonists to the right of the English to impose taxes; and an agreement was entered into by the several States to make use of no British commodities. To appease the Americans, the repeal of the duties upon all articles except tea was carried into effect in 1770, but failed to remedy the evil, since it was not the amount of taxation that was complained of, but the principle of taxation without representation; and the passing this partial measure was not only injudicious in itself, but exposed the weakness of the English government. Still more to shew the spirit of their determination, the people of Boston, during the night of the memorable 26th of December 1773, threw overboard into the harbour a cargo of tea which had lately arrived. This gave the finishing stroke to their opposition; and the government at home clearly saw that its authority could only be maintained by force of arms. Accordingly Boston was occupied by the king's troops on the 25th of March 1774.

Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, readily united in the common cause, and convoked a congress, which met at Philadelphia. The men who were delegated to attend this general assembly were persons of education and experience, and the total absence on this occasion of what may vulgarly be called a mob distinguishes one great feature in the character of the people of the United Provinces. Hence this great revolution is to be considered as effected by a body of able, prudent, practical men, banded together for the defence of their natural rights, and having faith in the uprightness of their cause, rather than likened to the violent popular commotions of other countries, where social distinctions are great, and the line of demarcation between the governed and the governing broadly and deeply engraven; where political outbursts are the struggles of exasperated men, uneducated, oppressed, and demoralised, without law, without principle, and without aim. At the meeting of this congress a resolution was passed deprecating the conduct of Great Britain, and determining to suspend all communications with her, which left the latter no alternative than to comply with the demands of the colonists. Chatham and Burke in the British parliament poured forth their powerful arguments against the unnatural war with all the warmth and vigour of their patriotic eloquence, while the more dispassionate amongst the Americans endeavoured to avert the impending evil by representing in the most effective and affectionate language their loyalty to Britain, and the injustice they suffered; but to no effect. The battle of Lexington, 19th of April, commenced those hostilities which were only to close with the entire separation of the

United States from England, and the loss of her power over them for ever.

The war thus begun by the colonies was necessarily defensive on their part, and the plan of operations confined, like that of Fabius, or afterwards Lord Wellington in the Peninsula, to a guerilla warfare, harassing and distressing to the enemy rather than decisive for themselves. The general chosen to command the forces of the Union on this critical occasion was George Washington, a man in whom were united the highest attributes of a soldier and statesman, and who owed solely to his personal merits and tested virtues his high elevation. It is not our intention to enter into the details of this war, which belong more properly to the pen of the historian. *The Declaration of Independence by the thirteen United States*, July 4, 1776, established them at once as a distinct nation, and enabled them to open negotiations with foreign powers upon their own responsibilities. France, which was smarting from the recent loss of Canada, was the first to listen to proposals, and quickly promised her aid to the struggling independents. This conduct on the part of the French involved the English in another war with them; which, instead of being confined to the colonies, became a general maritime war, communicating itself to every quarter of the globe, and including France, Spain, and Holland in the number of the belligerent powers. Land, not water, however, was destined to be the theatre on which American independence was to be fought. It is unnecessary to enumerate the various engagements that took place, or the disasters inflicted upon the country as the inevitable result of war: the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, October 19, 1781, extinguished whatever hope the English might have had of regaining their sovereignty. Consequent upon this event, the preliminaries of peace were prepared and signed at Versailles, November 30, 1782, in which 'the independence of the United States was acknowledged, the boundaries so fixed that the great western territory was relinquished to them, and the navigation of the Mississippi left common to both parties.' Thus, after a struggle of a few years, was erected on the shores of America a system of government and a power of wholly a new character, resting its fabric on the basis of democracy, recognising the political equality of all its citizens, and challenging the opinion of the world as to its stability and duration. No war, no revolution of any country or of any time has been attended with such important consequences as have attached themselves to the establishment of this republic.

Notwithstanding that the alienation of the above States from the crown of Great Britain considerably abridged her territories in North America, she still retained an extensive empire, stretching from the waters of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. It included on the east New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Lower Canada; in the interior, Upper Canada and the extensive country around Hudson's Bay; and on the west an indefinite tract, comprising Columbia and the disputed territory of Oregon. The mighty river St Lawrence, with its 10,000 islets, swelling sometimes into the likeness of an inland sea, but always preserving a magnificent channel, flowed through the most valuable districts.

The physical aspect of this extensive region is wonderfully diversified,

and presents all that variety of scenery and climate which gives an especial charm, whilst it invigorates the spirit of man to enterprise and endurance. Along the Atlantic, British America displays a rugged and broken coast, with cliffs of enormous height standing perpendicular out of the waves, and thickly wooded down to the water's edge; in others—as along the greater part of Newfoundland, the south-eastern shores of Nova Scotia, and the whole of Labrador—rocks with dwarfish trees growing upon them predominate. Within the Bay of Fundy the country is fertile and beautiful; and the features of Prince Edward's Island and the greater part of New Brunswick are soft, luxuriant, and picturesque. In Canada the imagination seems lost in wandering over its natural beauties and sublimities, and can scarcely realise the scenes that present themselves, so grand is the configuration of the country. From the eastern extremity of this vast territory, where it rises abruptly out of the St. Lawrence, to the Rocky Mountains on the west, its lands and waters exhibit features of the most romantic character. Interminable forests, magnificent rivers, vast chains of hills, immense lakes, extensive prairies, bold ravines, fearful precipices, and roaring cataracts, startle the traveller in every direction. In spring and summer the whole region is adorned and enriched with the most luxuriant verdure; in autumn, when the glowing pencil of decay has touched the forest-leaves, the tints of the foliage are exquisite beyond the power of fancy to conceive; and in winter—when the spirit of that pitiless season has chained back the impetuous waters in bonds of ice, or rendered the rivers, lakes, and cataracts more terrible by the frozen fragments that rush wildly down their currents—the power, the terror, the grandeur of nature, are magnificently displayed. And beyond this tract extend forests whose recesses have never yet been penetrated, and which stretch to the shores of the ocean; or perhaps rocky deserts of unknown limits, such as that which separates California from the other states; but whatever may be the character of this untrodden expanse, it is certain that nature is not barren or ungrateful over the greater portion of it. Such and so vast, then, is the territory possessed by the British nation; but how thinly populated is the whole!—what ample plains, what rich prairies, what wealthy tracts, solicit the nurturing hand of the emigrant!—what infinite resources underneath the soil and upon its surface wait to be developed!

In Cape Breton we have the picture of a fine and healthy country almost a wilderness from the want of cultivators. Its depth of coal-fields entitles it to be regarded with peculiar attention, for its wealth in that particular would supply the world, were it necessary, for many generations. The settlements in New Brunswick are delightfully situated in the midst of fertile prairies, surrounded by noble forests and picturesque hills. It is rich in coal and iron, and the marble that has been found there is of fair pretensions; yet out of the 18,000,000 acres it contains, only 4,000,000, or less than a quarter, have been cultivated, and that poorly; although on their produce has subsisted a hardy and contented race, remarkable for health and longevity. Here the climate is beautiful in summer—unlike that of Newfoundland and Labrador, where the inclemency of the polar regions seems to descend and dwell. Though the severity of the season be there so great and the aspect of the country rugged, yet it is studded with fine woods, and has many lakes and rivers. The Esquimaux

are the principal inhabitants; other Indians set up a temporary abode, but we cannot tell what may not be accomplished for even this rude empire if the proper means were adopted for bringing it into better condition. From Labrador upwards of 1,000,000 hundredweight of dried cod, and no less than 500,000 seal-skins, are annually exported. The wild animals that live there are chiefly bears, wolves, foxes, and otters; beavers and deer are not numerous, but their furs are close and beautiful.

Of the physical aspect of Canada we have already spoken—of its rivers, lakes, and prairies; of its mountain scenery and its majestic cataracts: we would now proceed to give a brief view of its population, cities, and commerce. In 1765, immediately after its conquest, it was ascertained that, exclusively of Quebec and Montreal, the population amounted to 54,575, who were professed Christians, which we must understand to mean independently of the Indian tribes; and that only 597,347 acres were under cultivation for the production of corn and other grain. Only five or six vessels were employed in the fisheries and navigation, while the exports and imports did not reach £300,000 annually. The total imports from the United States alone to Canada, from 1832 to 1841, amounted to £8,467,825; and from Canada to the United States, £3,850,048, which trade is annually increasing. The commerce carried on between these two countries by means of lakes, rivers, and canals, is rapidly improving. The city of Toronto, which is favourably situated for this trade, has within the last ten years doubled its population, and exceeds now 20,000 inhabitants. Hamilton, another city excellently built, at the head of the Lake Ontario, in the midst of an extensive and fertile country, with hardy and industrious farmers, and enlightened and enterprising merchants, is also rising into importance on account of this traffic. The population of the two Canadas scarcely exceeds 1,300,000—a small proportion for so extensive a territory. A stream of emigrants, however, is annually pouring in from this country—in 1842 to the number of 44,000, and the following year to 21,000. The number of persons who leave England and Ireland and flock to the United States is much greater than the number of emigrants to Canada or any of our North American colonies—a circumstance which ought to be taken into consideration by our government. It has been shewn that no place in the world abounds with more majestic and diversified scenery; and the cities which it possesses are large and well built. Quebec contains more than 30,000 inhabitants; Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton are centres of a flourishing trade; and there is no doubt that Canada will still improve, and much more rapidly increase in the next ten years than she has in the last.

We now return to a view of the United States after the conclusion of the War of Independence. The government of this new republic, which had become established without any internal anarchy or convulsion, assumed, as much from necessity as choice, the form of a democracy. Almost every person, by his industry, prudence, or intelligence, had acquired a reasonable independence, which entitled him to some authority, whilst the property of all was too much equalised to admit of an overwhelming share of power in any individual. The representative government was retained by each of the states respectively, with the power of passing laws for its own internal regulations; but all the states were

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federated under a Senate and House of Representatives. This form was not hastily or inconsiderately adopted. A few amendments* have been made since its promulgation in 1798, but the constitution itself has stood the test of more than half a century, and within that short period its people have advanced to a state of prosperity unrivalled in any country on the globe.

The United States, left to their own exertions and resources, entered into commercial alliances with foreign powers, and with England readily renewed that friendly intercourse which had been suspended during the continuance of hostilities. In 1817 the extension of the Union proceeded rapidly. The territories of Indiana and Mississippi were admitted as federal states. The Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokee tribes ceded large tracts, and joined the Union. The Floridas were purchased from Spain, the possession of which was taken in 1821. In 1826 the banks of the Missouri supplied new accessions of land; and all the Indians, except one tribe of the Creeks, having removed to the west of the Mississippi, their territories fell into the hands of the federated government; and ten years later Arkansas, Michigan, and Wisconsin were admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States. These new acquisitions led to a liberal expenditure of the public money for the development of their resources, and Congress lent its sanction to several measures introduced for their improvement. It was also deemed advisable that the Indians residing in the states inhabited by European descendants should migrate beyond the Mississippi, and there, in congenial tracts, establish a local government, and live according to their own laws and customs. Justice as well as humanity suggested this proposition, for it has been observed that all savage tribes decline under the influence of civilisation. Nor is this necessarily the result of an extirpating war: it seems the operation of a principle in nature. The laws which govern a nation, and the obligations which regulate society in a civilised state, are intolerable to a race accustomed to wander in boundless forests, subjected to no will but their own, and amenable to no law but that of instinct. But removed to a greater distance, it was thought that missionaries might be sent to educate them in the principles of civil rights, and familiarise them with the just restraints of conventional rules. Education would naturally discipline the habits of the next generation; and as their manners were gradually reformed, they would learn to bear the easy restrictions of refinement, and perpetuate a race—the ancient hereditary and legitimate inhabitants of the wild woods of North America. The latest acquisitions of the Union are Texas and California—the former rich and fertile in cotton, corn, tobacco, sugar, &c.; the latter furnishing the chief supplies of gold for the government and commerce of the country. This auriferous region, whose wealth has only just been discovered, will eventually become one of the

* In 1827 South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia called in question the constitutional right of the whole state to legislate for a part. The cause of this hostility to the Union was the reduction of the tariff on foreign produce, which was vehemently opposed by these states; but a compromise on the part of the Union restored the good-humour of the disaffected provinces, although the principle of nullification was left unsettled, and still continues to be so. The late violent discussions on the slave-question have likewise been attended with the same hostility, and a threat to dissolve the Union.

most valuable possessions of America. It gives the States a firm and extensive footing on the Pacific, from whence communication with China, India, Japan, and the Indian Archipelago will be easy and expeditious.

The territory of the United Provinces, at the conclusion of the revolutionary war, together with Maine and Vermont, comprehended a superficies of 371,124 square miles—that is, 250,776 square miles more than the whole of Great Britain, or 156,214 more than France, including Corsica; or larger than the Austrian Empire by 113,584 square miles—containing, as it is generally estimated, a population of only 2,500,000. Since then its spread in territory and increase in population have been truly wonderful, and surpassed the most daring speculations of by-gone politicians. The thirteen provinces have become thirty-four; and the population, according to the census of 1840, had risen to above 17,000,000, while the recent estimate states it at above 24,000,000. The influx of emigrants from different parts of the world has contributed to swell these growing numbers,* but from the deficiency of correct returns we are unable to give a conclusive statement of the precise proportion. From 1820 to 1830 the number of emigrants amounted to 200,000; whilst from 1830 to 1840 it increased to 472,727, or more than one-half, and this calculation is considered to be much below the real fact.

On looking at the map of the United States we cannot but feel amazed at the gigantic federation which has placed the energies, resources, and powers of such a vast and diversified expanse of territory under the direction and control of one and the same legislature and executive. The richness of the soil is unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe, and the means of irrigation unrivalled. On the east lie the primary states of the Union, possessing a fine sea-board, and reaching to the mighty ridge of the Alleghanies inland. From these hills innumerable streams, all of considerable size and importance, flow down into the Atlantic. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore overlook the waters of the ocean, and in their capacious harbours meet the vessels of every commercial nation. As we leave these forest-covered and hilly districts and cross the Alleghanies, we come upon the stupendous Valley of the Mississippi, stretching into immense plains from the ocean-like lakes of the north down to the 'crescent city' at its mouth. Here vegetation unfolds itself in rich and rank luxuriance; prairies of unmeasured extent spread their grassy and flower-sprinkled lap to the sun; while the Missouri, Arkansas, Ohio, Tennessee, Wabash, and a thousand other glassy streams in innumerable channels swell the glorious flood of the Mississippi. Even here may be seen the strides of a rapid civilisation. St Louis, with its population of 30,000, resounds with the busy hum of men and the echoes of active industry. The hollow silence once brooding over the vast forests of the Missouri is broken, and this young metropolis of the interior dares to rival with its increasing trade many a more ancient city of the Union. Then as we proceed still more to the westward and cross the Rocky Mountains, we travel over a wild and romantic country, abounding in rocky hills, deep ravines, and arid wastes; yet not uninterrupted by

* Texas has added a population of 175,000; California, 165,000; Oregon, 10,000; New Mexico, 75,000; and the Mormon states, 20,000—nearly half a million, by the mere act of joining the Union.

extensive forests and far-spreading plains of rich fertility. Here the Indian lately roamed at large, and sought in the rudeness of the scenery an unmolested home. But hither have the footsteps of the persevering and enterprising Americans pursued him, and intent upon the prosperity of their republic, claimed a part of Oregon and New Mexico as federated states. From the Atlantic on the east to the Pacific on the west, from the lake countries on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, the territories of this colossal empire, embracing every character of soil and every degree of climate, have extended within the last half century, and filled the untrodden forest, the uninhabited plain, and the bleak hills, with civilised communities, increasing towns, and a numerous population.

The difficulties which nature had apparently thrown in the way of intercommunication between the eastern and western states have been removed by the ingenuity and labour of man. The Ohio on the western side of the Alleghanies is united with the Atlantic by means of James's River and the Kanawha Canal. The Chesapeake and Ohio Aqueduct, when completed, will bring the waters of the Mississippi through Maryland; Pennsylvania and the trans-montane district will communicate by the canal which is made to join the Susquehanna and Ohio; while a great canal running through the fertile Valley of the Mohawk to the Hudson, and thence to the Atlantic, connects Lake Erie with New York. The railways that have been constructed and are in process of construction carry out this object far more effectively; whilst it must not be forgotten that communication with a city 1000 miles distant may be obtained in the course of a few minutes by that space-annihilating instrument—the electric telegraph.

The two great bodies which represent the wealth of the United States are the manufacturers and the agriculturists, whose interests frequently clash, and produce violent struggles in the country under the banners of free-trade and protection—the latter being the cry of the manufacturer, and free-trade that of the agriculturist. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio are the principal seats of the manufacturing interests, while the southern section of the Union is devoted to the cultivation of cotton and sugar. Notwithstanding, agriculture is not the sole occupation of these states, as considerable sums of money are expended in the prosecution of manufactures, consequently a common interest is thus being ubiquitously created, which will eventually cement even the most disaffected provinces. Before the revolution, the jealousy of Great Britain, it has been before remarked, threw every impediment* in the way of the manufacturers it was capable of doing by legislation, and by absurd laws endeavoured to suppress the energies of the people in this branch of industry. No sooner, however, had the Americans thrown off the yoke of imperial oppression, than they renewed their exertions and erected mills in different parts of the country. But it was not until lately that the chief

* That no manufactured goods could be exported was first enacted. It was then forbidden that any manufactured article should be sent to the neighbouring provinces—thus New York could not sell to Massachusetts; and further, if the manufacturer wished to sell his wares out of the town in which he resided, he was forbidden to convey them by means of horses, and, like the street-wandering Jew, had to carry them on his head. It is no wonder that the colonies rebelled; the surprise is that they bore the absurd regulations connected with their manufactures so long.

stimulus was given to the manufacturing spirit which has caused it to take such gigantic strides, and become so important an interest in the country. It is calculated that not less than 350,000,000 dollars are invested as capital in this branch of industry, of which New Jersey and Pennsylvania have embarked 55,000,000; the New England States, 100,000,000; Massachusetts and New York, 120,000,000. Cotton cloths and woollen goods, small arms and tools, flour and sugar, paper and leather, are the chief objects of manufacture; but nearly every kind of miscellaneous article is also produced for home-consumption and exportation. Lowell, Rochester, Lockport, and Tatorson may be mentioned among the principal manufacturing towns; all of which have sprung into astonishing importance within a few years. Lowell, the American Manchester, on the Merrimac, in 1820 had a population of only 200, with property to the amount of 100,000 dollars, and for ten years later little notice was taken of it as a manufacturing position. It has now upwards of 30,000 inhabitants, and a capital of 12,000,000 dollars. Water is principally the motive-power in the mills of the United States — the abundant supplies of which render it cheaper than steam, and equally available. In some of the factories of the north, however, where heat as well as power is required, the latter is in use; but even there to no great extent.

The agricultural interest is at present the most important. While the manufacturers have invested in their establishment a sum of 350,000,000 dollars, we find the value of the crops in 1848 to have exceeded 560,000,000 dollars. The high importance of the agricultural produce to the wealth and prosperity of the country will be found in the fact, that in 1840 the exports of cotton, sugar, &c. exceeded the exports of manufactured articles by 21,000,000 dollars; both together being about 113,000,000 dollars, which has since increased to 154,000,000 dollars.

The mineral wealth of the republic is not less valuable than its agricultural productions and manufactures; the difference being that the former has only been lately discovered, while the latter have had, though a short, still a longer existence. Silver, mercury, and copper are readily obtained in many parts, and the recent acquisition of California has added a gold region of incalculable value to the States. In Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York, iron is found in great quantities, and lead in the north-west part of Illinois. But as the former metals would be valueless without that by which they all are subjected to the use and benefit of man; so coal, the chief material in reducing them, is likewise found in abundance. It is estimated that there are no less than 70,000 square miles of coal-region in the United States, which embraces an area nearly equal to that of Great Britain, and upwards of thirty-five times the extent of its coal-fields. Pennsylvania is the centre of the mining district. Here the operations of mining have been carried on extensively; and here, for more than half a century, the iron wrought in America has been produced. The attention of several companies has been lately directed towards this important branch of wealth, a capital of 25,000,000 dollars being invested in mining, casting, forging, &c. We have not yet any correct data as to the quantities the mines have yielded; but as this interest is still in its infancy, we may confidently look forward to its fuller development. Of the coal-trade nothing certain is ascertained; but it is authoritatively stated

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that so recently as 1820 not more than 360 tons were annually brought down to the tide-water from the mines of Pennsylvania; but since then the quantity has risen to 1,283,229 tons, and the money invested in the working them to 34,970,000 dollars. As the iron-manufactories become more developed, so the coal-trade must increase; and as railroads become multiplied, so every facility will be afforded for conveying the metals and coal to less-favoured parts. In whatever direction we look we cannot but see a great future for the American people; a wide field lies open for them in every branch of industry, and we doubt not they will display their labour and skill yet more triumphantly than hitherto.

What has been remarked of her agricultural, manufacturing, and mining energies may be applied to the commercial enterprise of America. Although some may look back upwards of two centuries for the commencement of trade and exchange in this country, yet, properly speaking, its commerce must not be dated farther back than 1790, as previous to that time the restrictions put upon it stunted its growth and nullified its benefits. In that year the total value of its imports did not exceed £5,000,000, and its exports may be estimated at about the same amount. In 1821, the latter had annually increased to above £14,000,000; and in 1845 they had risen to £26,000,000—showing for the last quarter of a century an increase of nearly 100 per cent. For 1848 the official accounts report the exports and imports at £32,000,000, which exhibits an increase for the last three years of 23 per cent. It is also worthy to be observed, that of the exports in 1821 one-third was foreign merchandise re-exported; while in 1845 such re-exportation scarcely amounted to one-seventh part of the aggregate exports of the year. This shews the ratio in which the domestic industry of the Americans has increased, and how rapidly it has advanced within that period.

America is admirably adapted both for foreign and internal commerce. On the Atlantic and the Pacific she has ports and harbours to receive her vessels, and to despatch them to any quarter of the globe. Europe faces her on the east, Asia on the west; she is situated midway between them, and has but to put forth her hand to gather the fruits of her natural advantages. The intercourse of one state with another, which is unrestricted by law or any municipal regulation, is greatly facilitated by those gigantic streams we have before noticed. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the benefits of this free intercommunication. Mr Mackay in his 'Western World' has summed it up in a few words. 'We frequently judge,' he says, 'of a system from its monuments.' American commerce need not shrink from being already tried by the same test. Of the cities it has reared upon the sea-board there is no occasion to speak; its rapid development is perhaps still more visible in the effect which it produces in the interior. Under its fostering influence communities start up, as it were, by magic in the wilderness; the spot which is to-day a desert may, thirty years hence, be the site of a flourishing town, containing as many thousand souls. These inland towns are being constantly brought to the surface by the commercial fermentation which never ceases. They arise under no other influence than that of commerce, they come forth at the bidding of no other voice.'

Universal toleration, it is well known, was proclaimed simultaneously

with the declaration of independence, and the consequence of the liberty of faith thus guaranteed is, that many sects exist—too many, in fact, to be named; although we may mention, on account of their predominance, the Baptists and Methodists, and the Congregationalists, who use the service of the Church of England, but purged of what they consider vain repetitions and obnoxious passages. The Roman Catholics, with their wonted foresight, have numerous settlements in the Valley of the Mississippi, now comparatively unpeopled, but evidently with the intention of prepossessing the future comers in their favour, and having an undivided field to labour in.

*A great experiment we must not overlook or lightly esteem is being made in conjunction with religion in the United States. The framers of the constitution were eager to afford every facility for the education of the people, and made large though local grants for the public instruction, whilst they left religion upon the voluntary basis. The result, we feel convinced, has been hitherto favourable. The word 'toleration' would be an insult to the American, for as no creed is disallowed, no toleration can exist where all are upon an equal footing. Instead of supporting a state-church, he supports education; and were we to follow the example of the United States, where we now expend on that essential the paltry sum of £100,000, we should bestow upwards of £2,000,000. There are altogether 173 universities, 8 colleges, 3248 grammar schools, and 47,207 primary schools. So general is education, and so well supported by the local government, that in another generation or so there will probably not be a wholly illiterate person in America. At present, the influx of unlettered emigrants, and difficulties at home, leave a balance of 549,000 persons on their census who have received no instruction; but how comparatively small is this number when taken in conjunction with the whole population!—how small when contrasted with our own educational lists!

The economy which exists in every branch of the American executive is a subject of ridicule to some, but a lesson of wisdom to others. It shews, however, that good government and moderate stipends may be allied, and that it is not in the amount of salary the strength of political prudence dwells. The whole amount paid to all the officers of the government, from the president down to the secretary of the navy, is only £16,885— a sum considerably less than that it costs England to govern Ireland. But if we proceed further we shall see a vast difference again in the regulation of the finance department of America and Great Britain. Mr Mackay says: 'Englishmen pay £4,000,000 sterling for the government of from thirty to forty colonies; Americans pay about £1,250,000 for the local government of thirty states. The colonies contain an aggregate population of 5,000,000, the States one of 20,000,000. But the £4,000,000 paid by the imperial government is only half what it takes to support the government of the colonies, the other half being defrayed by the colonists themselves. It thus takes £8,000,000 sterling to govern 5,000,000 of colonists; and as England pays one half of this sum, she may be said to pay £4,000,000 sterling for governing 2,500,000 of colonists.' It is only by this contrast that the economy of the American can be properly shewn; and the efficiency of the government cannot be called in question.

Some slight notice is perhaps necessary of the slave population of the United States, as it remains a deep reproach upon the character of those

states which still maintain the abuse, and casts a partial shade upon the whole republic. Although there are 3,000,000 slaves in the country, their numbers may be said to be decreasing. In 1830 it appears that out of twenty-five states only one was wholly exempt from the stain. Massachusetts had one, and Maine two registered slaves; others varied in their numbers; while Columbia possessed 6119; Virginia, 469,757; and the two Carolinas, 561,002. In 1840 only thirteen out of the twenty-six states employed slaves, the number of whom amounted to 2,487,213. Every new state the Union acquires will add strength to the party of the abolitionists; whilst the increase of manufacturing industry amongst the agricultural slave-holding districts will erect even in the very centre of slavery a population averse to this inhuman property, and eventually have a preponderating influence over the planters now in favour of it. Thus if legislation does not interfere to emancipate the degraded blacks of the United States, the probability is that circumstances will before long compel the holders to abandon their wretched prey.

Having now given an account of the United States, their government, establishments, trade, and commerce, it is but fair to give some account of the inhabitants. Of course, in so extensive a latitude as their possessions embrace, some disparity of character will occur; but generally the Anglo-Americans are represented as being intelligent, industrious, and frugal. Their love of freedom in every sense of the word is absolute; and the pride with which they regard the giant progress of their country has infected them with a sort of national hyperbole which creates a levity of manner, especially towards strangers, which makes them on first acquaintance disagreeable; but it will afterwards be found that they are warm-hearted, affectionate, and hospitable, though they despise in a great measure those conventionalities which restrain the feelings and mould the conduct of Europeans. They are distinguished for a spirit of daring and enterprise, which never suffers them to slumber or rest while there is an opportunity open of advancing their interests at home or abroad. Hence they are rapidly outstripping the kingdoms of the Old World, not excepting England, in commercial connections; and whilst we are pausing on the threshold of prescriptive opinion, they will probably step in and seize the prize out of our hands. Countries such as Siam and Japan—which, from a false delicacy on the part of European cabinets, are permitted to keep their gates closed against the admission of foreigners, and maintain a restrictive policy, prejudicial alike to themselves and the common interests of mankind—will probably before long be compelled to open their ports to the demand of American enterprise.

To sum up the progress of the United States, we may observe that in everything which tends to civilise and refine there exists a noble and generous emulation between that country and this. America is indebted much to our institutions for the liberty she now possesses; but whilst she has learned much from us, we on the other hand have received many useful lessons from her. In whatever is practical she holds out many judicious examples for our imitation. In the simplicity of her jurisprudence, in the economy of her legislature; in the universality of education, in the cheap diffusion of knowledge; in her railways, telegraphs, ship building—in fact, in every branch of her establishments and industry

there are many things to excite an honest envy; and in all these the two countries have a mutual interest, which we trust will never be severed. But what are our anticipations for the future of this great congeries? Some there are who would look forward to the dissolution of the Union, and the substitution of independent governments over the whole of this vast continent. They hear of divisions and rumours of wars between the northern and southern states, and predict that the hour is come; or, failing this, they view the immense agricultural interest about to spring up in the Valley of the Mississippi, and believe it to be incompatible with the manufacturing interest now so rapidly increasing in the sea-board states, especially since the two appear to be separated by that vast natural barrier, the chain of the Alleghanies, and farther westward, the Rocky Mountains. For ourselves, however, we entertain very different expectations. The Union, as it exists, is a union of several states for mutual advantage and strength, having the most ample and absolute power in themselves to regulate every particular relative to their individual local necessities. Thus whilst all enjoy the benefit, no partiality exists; whilst each pays, as it were, a mite towards the general good, together they reap abundantly. The interest of each will be so interwoven with the commonwealth that none will dare to attempt the separation of the smallest part. We feel that the empire of the United States will extend still farther, not by the force of armies, but by the moral influence of attraction. Mexico, for instance, longs to enjoy the peace and stability which she sees so near her, and this is to be obtained without forfeiting her independence by joining the Union. But we feel the destiny of this federation to lie farther. Having annexed Mexico, it will not be too great an effort to traverse the Isthmus, and by the same influence unite other nations. Thus empire upon empire, and federation upon federation, may be drawn together until the New World from north to south has received the institutions of this country, and the whole western hemisphere enjoys the liberty and speaks in the language of Great Britain.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON, the fourth son of the Earl and Countess of Mornington, was born at Dangan Castle, county of Meath, Ireland, on the 1st of May 1769, a few weeks only before the birth of Napoleon Bonaparte, in Corsica. The Wellesley family descend from the Colleys or Cowleys of Rutlandshire, of whom two brothers, Robert and Walter, crafty, prudent men, and astute lawyers, emigrated to the county Kilkenny in the reign of Henry VIII. So well do they appear to have served the capricious will of that unscrupulous monarch, that they early obtained the clerkship of the crown in the Irish Court of Chancery, held for their joint lives, and not long afterwards Robert became Master of the Rolls, and Walter Solicitor-General. One of the Westleys, or Wellesleys, an old Saxon family from the county of Sussex, and then of Dangan Castle, county of Meath, married Elizabeth Colley or Cowley, and in 1747 Richard Colley Wellesley was raised to the Irish peerage by George II., with the title of Earl of Mornington. The father of Arthur Wellesley was the second earl, and in his day was reputed to be a musician and musical composer of considerable ability. Some of his compositions, we believe, still survive. The wife of this earl was Anne, the eldest daughter of the Right Honourable Arthur Hill, Viscount Dungannon, and is said to have been a woman of strong sense and high principle. At her husband's death the family property was found to be frightfully encumbered, and ultimately the estate was alienated, passing into the possession of Roger O'Connor. The castle had been previously destroyed by fire.

A startling and significant page in the world's history was opened, and its giant characters were partly traced, during the youth of the future field-marshal. The military power of Great Britain had been successfully withstood by the infant States of America; and the soldiers of despotic France, who had assisted in the vindication of the liberties of the British colonists, returned to their homes, were repeating to eagerly-attentive audiences the strange and thrilling words they had become familiar with in the far-off western world. Daily the fierce and angry murmur grew and strengthened, and it required little sagacity to foresee that men of the sword must reap abundant harvests ere the new principles inaugurated by the rifle-volleys of Bunker's Hill, and so ominously echoed in the most powerful of the continental states of old Europe, should either become

permanently triumphant, or be trampled out beneath the heels of the still vigorous though decaying feudalism against which they were so audaciously arrayed. Arthur Wellesley, with the full consent of his relatives, chose the army for a profession; Richard, his eldest brother, by his father's death Lord Mornington, and afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, decided for the civil service of the state; and both were at an early age removed from Eton—Richard to the university of Oxford, and Arthur to the military school of Angiers in France, then under the direction of the celebrated Engineer Pignarol. Napoleon Bonaparte was at the same time receiving instruction at the sister-school of Brienne.

Arthur Wellesley returned to England soon after completing his seventeenth year, and on the 7th of March 1787 was gazetted ensign in the 73d Regiment. His elder brother, Richard, on attaining his majority was returned to parliament for the borough of Beer-Alston, a seat which he subsequently exchanged for that of the royal borough of Windsor. He early succeeded in obtaining place under Mr Pitt, and was appointed one of the commissioners for the affairs of India. Family influence and connection told rapidly also upon the advancement of the young soldier, who, gazetted ensign on the 7th of March 1787, was on the 25th of December in the same year a lieutenant in the 76th. The following month he exchanged into the 41st. In 1790, he was returned to parliament for the borough of Trim, a portion of the Mornington estate. On the 30th of June 1791 he was promoted to a company in the 58th Foot, which, in the following year, he exchanged for a troop in the 12th Dragoons. On the 30th of April 1793 he was gazetted major of the 33d, and on the 30th of September following he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment; having in little more than five years passed through the various grades from that of an ensign to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and the actual command of a veteran regiment.

The young lieutenant-colonel had not greatly distinguished himself in the House of Commons. He spoke seldom, and then merely to give confused and ineffective utterance to the family-borough politics, the main points of which, like others originating in the same sources, appeared to be the continued, peremptory exclusion of Catholics from the privileges of citizens, and the advancement of the personal interests of the Trim proprietary. But the curtain was about to rise on a fitter theatre for the development of Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley's genius than the House of Commons. The sullen murmurs of which we spoke just now had by this time broken into a tumultuous roar of hate and indignation. The king and queen of France, and those of the nobility and clergy who were bold enough to confront the hurricane of rage that had burst forth, all perished miserably. Public feeling in England, artfully and eloquently stimulated, rose quickly to fever-heat, and amidst the frantic applause of almost the entire nation Mr Pitt declared war to the death against the French Republic. A British army was not long afterwards despatched to Flanders under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of York—a general and bishop by virtue of his royal birth alone, and about as well-fitted to direct the operations of an army as to fill the episcopal chair of Osnaburg. In 1794 reinforcements were despatched, rather with a view to enable the prince-general to retreat in tolerable order and safety, than with any reasonable

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hope of arresting the triumphant progress of the French armies. Amongst others the 33d Regiment was ordered to embark, and marched to Cork for that purpose.

The troops arrived at their destination in time to learn that the Duke of York had been already driven into Holland, and that an immediate re-embarkation was necessary in order to reach Antwerp by the Scheldt. This was effected; and in the following January (1795), Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley, as senior officer, commanded three battalions in the retreat through Holland, and early in the spring embarked with the troops at Bremen for England.

The superiority of Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley as a regimental officer was clearly manifested by the celerity with which the 33d, which had greatly suffered, was reorganised and reported fit for service. It joined the camp near Southampton, and in October 1795 was embarked in the fleet destined for the West Indies, under the command of Admiral Christian. Baffling storm and tempest, against which they vainly struggled for six weeks, drove them back, and the destination of the 33d was afterwards changed to India, for which country the regiment sailed in April 1796, arriving at Bengal in September, accompanied by Colonel Wellesley, who had joined it at the Cape of Good Hope in June, illness having prevented him from taking his departure with it from England.

Nothing requiring remark occurred till 1798, when Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley's regiment was attached to the Madras establishment, where preparations for a manifestly inevitable conflict with Tippoo Sultan, the ruler of the Mysore territory, were, under the direction of the new governor-general, in course of rapid progress. The new governor-general was Colonel Wellesley's elder brother, Lord Mornington, who had succeeded Sir John Shore in that high and responsible office. Never perhaps had the government of British India been assumed under graver circumstances. The storm raging in Europe had given life and energy to the temporarily-subdued or overawed native princes and potentates, to whom the increasing power of the English was obnoxious, either from the memory of past defeats, or apprehension that the signal chastisement already inflicted upon some of their number might ultimately reach all. French officers abounded in the armies of the native princes, especially in those of the Mahratta chiefs Dowlut, Rao Scindiah, and Holkar, of the Nizam, and of Tippoo Sultan. Those officers naturally availed themselves of their position to excite the princes of India against the nation that had driven the French out of the country, and which was now at war with the French Republic; and there was unfortunately no lack of inflammable materials for the fire which they nothing doubted of being able to kindle into a tempest of flame that would wither up and consume every vestige of British rule in the Indian Peninsula. Above all, Tippoo Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali, and a fanatic Mussulman, nourished the fiercest hatred of the power that, by the treaty dictated by Cornwallis in 1792, had stripped him of half his territories, treasure to an immense amount, 800 pieces of cannon, and carried off two of his sons as hostages for the due fulfilment of his engagements. The agents of the French republic fed his hopes of vengeance by the most lavish promises of support, and Tippoo listened, fatally for himself, to assurances of aid which Nelson's victory of the

Nile, and the prompt, decisive measures of the governor-general, prevented the French, however sincere they may have been their intentions, from redeeming. Tippoo not only greatly caressed the officers of that nation, whom he permitted to form a Jacobin club at Seringapatam, in which war was proclaimed against all kings, except of course Tippoo himself, but made earnest overtures to the great Mahratta chiefs, to induce them to join in his purposed invasion of the Carnatic. His proposals were favourably received, but the indolent, procrastinating habits of Asiatic rulers were no match for the virile energy of the new governor-general, and long before any effectual combination could be realised, the capital of Tippoo was in the hands of the English, and himself deprived of life as well as empire. In order that our readers should thoroughly comprehend the full extent of the peril from which the Marquis of Wellesley, one of the ablest proconsuls this country ever sent forth, saved the mighty interests confided to him, it is necessary to direct their attention for a brief space to the map of the Indian Peninsula. The three presidential cities, they will perceive, of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, are so situated that lines drawn from one to the other would intersect the large portion of territory south of the Nerbudda River, forming the centre of the peninsula; but these presidencies, admirably situated as strategic points, were but as dots and fringes along the eastern and western coasts compared with the extent of the vast country, which from north to south, from Delhi to the Toombuddra River, measures 1000 miles, and in width from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Candy, 900 miles, gradually diminishing to its southern extremity. The country north of the Nerbudda is Hindostan proper; between the Nerbudda and the Kistnah are Poonah, the dominions of the Nizam, and Berar; and south of the Kistnah, the Deccan, Mysore, and the Carnatic—Madras and the Carnatic lying to the east of Seringapatam and the Mysore country. All that immense territory, with the exception of the Mysore and the Nizam's dominions, and of course the British provinces, were nominally under the government of the Rajah of Sattarah, but really, so far as any actual power existed, under that of the Peshwah—a hereditary minister, who ruled in the rajah's name at Poonah, a city not far distant from Bombay. The aggregate army of this power amounted to 300,000 men, and if directed by one single will in fact, as it was in theory, would have been extremely formidable. This, however, was far from being the case, the Mahratta territories nominally under the Peshwah's rule being divided into five military jurisdictions, each governed by a rajah. Of these chieftains, Scindiah and Holkar, whose territories were in the Malwah country, north of the Nerbudda, were the most powerful, and, as well as the less potent Rajah of Berar, determined, though not as yet open enemies of the intrusive English. Scindiah had greatly strengthened himself by his conquests in the north as far as Delhi, and by his influence at Poonah, where he in effect held the Peshwah in subjection. Of Scindiah's army, 40,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, and 150 pieces of artillery, had been organised and disciplined by M. De Boigne, a native of Savoy in France, who entered Scindiah's service in 1784. He was succeeded by M. Perron, who at this time commanded at Delhi and the northern provinces. Two-thirds of the officers of the army thus disciplined were Frenchmen or other Europeans. Holkar, a rival Mahratta chief, in order to strengthen himself against the

growing power of Scindiah, had also engaged great numbers of French officers, and his numerous army was also in a high state of efficiency. Menaced by such formidable neighbours, who, although jealous of each other, were well disposed to combine against their common enemy the English, it behoved the governor-general to be prompt and decided if he would avert or dissipate the tempest rapidly gathering around him. He was swift and deadly. War was declared against Tippoo Sultan, and an admirably-appointed army of 80,000 men, previously assembled at Bellore, marched on the 10th March 1799 under General Harris upon Seringapatam. With the army of the Carnatic moved the Nizam's contingent, to which the 33d European Regiment had been attached under the command of Colonel Wellesley. This force operated on the right, and were somewhat harassed during the march by the sultan's troops. At Mallavilly Tippoo drew up in position, and offered hesitating battle to Wellesley's force, which, reinforced by some squadrons of horse under Sir John Floyd, the father-in-law of the late Sir Robert Peel, overthrew him with slight loss to themselves; and the troops continuing their rapid march, arrived with the bulk of the army on the 3d of April before Seringapatam—an irregularly but strongly fortified city, situated on an island formed by the confluence of the Cauvery and Coleroon. The Cauvery was passed, active operations against the sultan's capital commenced at once, and were urged forward with untiring energy and zeal. On the night of the 5th of April Colonel Wellesley was directed to attack the Sultaun-pettah Tope, a kind of copse or grove intersected with water-courses and ruined habitations, from which the troops were frequently assailed by rockets. The 33d and two native Bengal regiments were ordered on this service. The night was extremely dark; Colonel Wellesley and his troops lost their way, and after many vain efforts to remedy the mischance, it was found necessary to withdraw the men; but this was not done, unfortunately, till after twelve grenadiers of the 33d had been cut off and carried into Seringapatam, where they were savagely murdered by Tippoo's order. Colonel Wellesley, separated from his soldiers, wandered blindly about in the thick darkness till nearly twelve o'clock, when he recovered the track, and as soon as possible presented himself before General Harris in a state of great agitation, to announce that the attack had failed. This is the plain, unvarnished history of an affair which the decriers of the Duke's military reputation have magnified into a disgraceful defeat; attended with we know not what inglorious circumstance, involving want of discretion, presence of mind, and even personal bravery. Such imputations are simply ridiculous, and but for the Duke's subsequent dazzling career, in which an action less brilliant than the rest shews like a shadow or a stain, would, we may be sure, never have been heard of. Sir David Baird, who scoured another Tope with cavalry on the same night, also lost his way on returning. It was, in fact, one of those misfortunes which neither prudence nor skill nor daring can at times prevent, and is only one amongst scores of instances of the risks that must ever attend night-attacks, especially in tangled and broken localities, with which neither officers nor soldiers are acquainted. The next day the attempt was renewed by Colonel Wellesley, the attacking force being increased by the 94th Scotch Regiment. It was completely successful, and Tippoo Sultan began to feel some misgivings that his frequently-repeated

boastful exclamation—'Who can take Seringapatam?'—might receive a fatal solution. He wrote to General Harris, suggesting a negotiation. The reply was decisive: half his territory to be ceded, the expenses of the war to be paid in full, and hostages given for the performance of those hard conditions. There could be no parleying or negotiation. The fanatic sovereign of Mysore turned sullenly away from such ruinous terms of peace, and continued the defence. Daily, hourly, the walls of the devoted city crumbled beneath the thunder-strokes of the English batteries, and at noon on the 4th of May the glittering ranks of the troops destined for the assault were seen from Seringapatam, drawn up in two columns, and waiting only for the signal that should loose them on their quarry. It was speedily given; and led by Sir David Baird, who had volunteered for the service, the assaulting columns, preceded by their respective forlorn-hopes, advanced swiftly against the breach. The reserve in the trenches was commanded by Colonel Wellesley. The preparations for the decisive struggle, visible from the walls, had been duly reported to Tippoo, who received the intelligence with a smile of disdainful unbelief in the possibility of an assault upon the impregnable city in broad daylight. He was sitting, on this the last hour of his life, still obstinately incredulous as to the reality of the attack, with some members of his family in the open air, under a kind of penthouse, when messengers, whose tidings were terribly confirmed by the increasing din and uproar of the assault, announced with quivering lips that the storming of the city had not only begun in earnest, but was already partially successful.

Tippoo, at length convinced, calmly arose, finished his religious exercises, and then hastened to the scene of conflict. It was all too true. The city, on his arrival, was substantially won; and after a brief struggle, Tippoo, mounted on horseback, was borne away by a crowd of panic-stricken soldiers, who, hotly pursued, endeavoured to escape by the covered gateway leading to the interior of the city. The sultan strove to force his way through the dense mass of fugitives; but in that terrible hour his once all-potent merces had lost their influence: the living barrier before him could not be passed, whilst nearer and nearer behind him flashed and thundered the fatal volleys of his pursuers. Presently his horse was shot, and with difficulty his faithful attendants raised and placed him in a palanquin. His foes were soon at hand-grip with him. A soldier made a furious grasp at a glittering jewel in his turban—the hallowed turban, dipped in the sacred waters of the Zem-Zem—Tippoo struck feebly at the man with his scimitar, inflicting a slight wound, and the infuriated soldier the next instant sent a bullet through his head. His attendants were next despatched, and in a few minutes sultan, servants, palanquin, were hidden beneath a heap of dead, pitilessly sacrificed by troops whose vengeful passions had been kindled to fury by the too-authentic stories related of Tippoo's cruelties towards the British prisoners that had fallen into his hands. Effective resistance was at an end; but those alone who have witnessed the revolting spectacle of a crowded city in the power of a soldiery, drunk with the triumph of a desperate and sanguinary assault, can realise the confusion, uproar, terror that accompanied the entrance of the victorious troops into Seringapatam, and which continued not only during the afternoon but through the

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night, and far into the next day. So universal at first was the disorder, that the officers could not for some time prevent the men from plundering the sultan's treasury; and before an efficient guard could be marched in from the reserve by Colonel Wellesley, an immense booty was carried off. This important service effected, inquiries were made for Tippoo, and an active search set on foot to discover him. He could not be found, and it began to be feared that he had escaped, when word was brought that he was supposed to have fallen in the covered gateway. This was a fact of too great importance to be left in doubt, and Sir David Baird with Colonel Wellesley immediately proceeded to ascertain the truth of the report with their own eyes. By the time they arrived at the indicated spot, darkness had fallen; but torches being procured, the bodies of the slain were removed under the immediate inspection of the two officers. As the frightful heap diminished, first Tippoo's palanquin, then his attendants, were disinterred, and immediately beneath them the corpse of the sultan presented itself. The features of Tippoo were serene and composed as if he slept; so completely so indeed, that it was for a moment thought he was merely feigning death. To satisfy himself, Colonel Wellesley stepped close to the body, placed his hand upon the pulse and then upon the heart. 'He is dead fast enough,' was the remark; and orders were immediately given to convey the corpse to the habitation of the family of the deceased ruler, over which a strong protective-guard had been placed.

St George's flag waved proudly in the morning sunlight from the towers of the captured city, from which there still went up to Heaven the shouts and din and curses of unbridled violence and outrage. It was full time to quell the disorder, and with this view Colonel Wellesley was appointed commandant and governor of Seringapatam. He set to work at once, and vigorously, as the following brief extracts from letters hurriedly despatched to General Harris during the day amply testify:—

'10 A.M., 5th May.

'MY DEAR SIR—We are in such confusion that I recommend it to you not to come in till to-morrow, or at soonest late this evening.'

'*Half-past Twelve.*—I wish you would send the provost here, and put him under my orders. Until some of the plunderers are hanged, it is vain to expect to stop the plunder.'

'*Two o'clock P.M.*—Things are better than they were, but they are still very bad; and until the provost executes three or four people, it is impossible to expect order or indeed safety.'

'The provost was granted; four of the plunderers were caught red-handed, briefly doomed, and hanged without loss of time. This is not pleasant reading, for even the justice of war shocks one as a frightful cruelty; but the severity appears to have been imperatively necessary, and it certainly answered its purpose, inasmuch as Colonel Wellesley was enabled on the next day to write as follows:—

'*May 6.*—Plunder is stopped. The fires are all extinguished, and the inhabitants are returning to their homes fast. I am now burying the dead, which I hope will be completed to-day, particularly if you send me all the pioneers.'

Some idea of the value of the plunder carried off by the soldiery may be drawn from the well-attested fact, that some diamonds purchased of a

private by Dr Mein for a trifle were afterwards sold for £32,000 sterling. With all such drawbacks, however, upon the amount of valuables officially captured, the victorious general carried off treasure to the enormous amount, as set down in the returns, of 45,580,350 star pagodas!

The war, as far as the Mysore country was concerned, was now over; and the bulk of the army retraced its steps, after the youthful grandson of the ruler whom Hyder Ali had deposed had been restored to the rajahship of Mysore, in accordance with British-Indian policy. The restored rajah was of course for the future merely the puppet-monarch of a diminished territory, really as much governed by the Company's officers as that portion of the Mysore over which they ostensibly ruled.

Colonel Wellesley was appointed civil and military governor of Seringapatam and Mysore, and in that dual capacity is admitted to have displayed administrative talents of a high order. However deaf and stern to the pleadings for mercy towards proved offenders against the rigours of positive law this great soldier may have shewn himself throughout his remarkable career — a peculiarity of character which may perhaps account for the indisputable fact, that whilst he extorted the respect and confidence of the troops under his command, accustoming them as he did to look upon the day of battle as one of assured victory, he was never regarded by his soldiers with personal affection, much less enthusiasm, like that, for instance, which Nelson inspired — still it cannot be denied that he ever held the balance of his iron justice fairly between the highest and the lowest. A more depressed, ill-used body of men than the coolies of India could not perhaps be found upon the face of the earth. Of a servile and degraded caste, they are accustomed from earliest childhood to submit with the resignation of despair to the most flagrant wrong; and British officers were not, it appears from Colonel Wellesley's correspondence, ashamed to cheat and plunder the helpless, miserable people. Coolies are the carriers and porters of India, and it was a common practice to engage them for short journeys at a small sum, and then insist upon their performing a much greater distance without any additional remuneration. This scandalous oppression was peremptorily checked by Colonel Wellesley, as the following extracts will shew: — 'The history of Captain —'s conduct is quite shocking. The system is not bearable; it must be abolished entirely, or so arranged and modified as to render it certain that the unfortunate people employed as coolies are paid, are not carried farther than the usual stage, and are not ill-treated. Besides Captain —, I have another Bombay gentleman in my eye, who has lately come through the country with a convoy of arrack, and I suspect played the same tricks — that is to say, never paid the people pressed and employed by him in the public service. I have directed inquiries to be made upon the subject, and if I find my conjectures to be well founded, I shall try him at the same time with Captain —.'

The oppressed coolies must have been as much bewildered as surprised to find the mighty governor of Mysore insisting that despised outcasts such as they should receive equitable treatment at the hands of the exalted and magnificent persons that British officers in India are held to be.

Colonel Wellesley's command in the Mysore continued with only one temporary interruption till he left India. In 1801 he left Seringapatam

for Trincomalee, where a force of 3000 men were assembled to act against the Mauritius; but the duplicate copy of an overland dispatch to the governor-general, commanding him to detach the same number of men to Egypt, having been placed in Colonel Wellesley's hands by Mr Dundas, he immediately determined on sailing with the troops to Bombay, in order that they should be ready to start at once for Egypt. This decision was approved of by the governor-general, and Sir David Baird being appointed to command the expedition, Colonel Wellesley was attached to the force as second to that general. An attack of fever, by which he was for a time prostrated, prevented him from accompanying the troops, and on his recovery he was restored to his command in the Mysore territory.

The first considerable interruption to his energetic administration of affairs was caused by the incursions of Dhoondiah Waugh, a Mahratta trooper, who at the fall of Seringapatam had been liberated from one of its dungeons. He was a dashing, daring adventurer, and by his success as a highwayman and freebooter soon gathered round him a great number of desperate vagabonds, eager to join in the same gainful trade. So rapidly did his followers increase, that he was soon at the head of a large, and, so far as numbers went, a powerful army. His self-estimation grew even faster than his apparent power, and he assumed the magnificent title of 'King of the Two Worlds.' This great monarch, after receiving several checks from detachments of the British forces, was, unfortunately for himself, come up with at Conaghale on the 10th September 1800 by Colonel Wellesley, after a forced and rapid march with the 19th, 25th, and 22d Light Dragoons, and the 1st and 2d Regiments of Native Cavalry. The attack was instantaneous, and the rout total, the King of the Two Worlds being himself amongst the slain. An anecdote is related of Colonel Wellesley in connection with the extinction of this freebooter which does him honour. One of the captives was the favourite son of Dhoondiah—a beautiful boy, called Sulaboth Khan—and Colonel Wellesley, commiserating his forlorn state, took him under his especial protection, had him properly educated, and ultimately procured him employment in the service of the Rajah of Mysore, which he retained till his death by cholera in 1822.

The Mahratta chiefs, Scindiah and Holkar, instead of vigorously assisting Tippoo Sultan in his extremity, had got up a war between themselves; and in October 1802 Holkar defeated the combined forces of Scindiah and the Peshwah, and seated a puppet of his own on the musnud. The Peshwah, previous to leaving Poonah after his defeat, applied to the Company's resident for help and protection. The application, on reference to the governor-general, was favourably entertained; a treaty of alliance was entered into with the expelled Peshwah; and it was determined to put down not only Holkar, who, in the elation of his triumph over the Peshwah, menaced the Nizam's dominions with invasion, but Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar. A force sufficient for the purpose was assembled at Hurryhur, and placed under the command of Major-General Wellesley. This rank the governor-general had conferred upon his brother on the 2d of April 1802. We have previously given the dates of the unearned military grades conferred upon the Duke of Wellington, and it may be as

well now to set down those for which he was indebted, not to the accident of birth and family connection, but to his great services. His commission of colonel was conferred on the 3d of May 1796; that of major-general, 2d of April 1802; of lieutenant-general, 25th April 1808; of general in Spain and Portugal, 31st July 1811; of field-marshal, 21st June 1813.

We have space only for a glance at General Wellesley's chief exploits during this Mahratta war, as it is called. The army, consisting of about 20,000 troops of all arms, moved from Hurryhur on the 9th of March 1802, and without encountering any serious opposition arrived at Poonah on the 20th of April. On the 13th of May the Peshwah was replaced on the musnud. Supreme civil and military authority in the territories of the Nizam, the Peshwah, and the Mahratta States, was soon afterwards conferred on General Wellesley, and on the 6th of August he took the field against Scindiah and his allies. Pettah, a native town, garrisoned by 3000 Mahratta troops and 1500 Arab mercenaries, was, without stopping to breach the wall, stormed by the help of a few scaling-ladders, and the loss of only 140 men. Gocklah, a Mahratta chief, wrote the following account of this affair to his friends at Poonah:—'These English are a strange people, and their general is a wonderful man. They came here in the morning, looked at the Pettah wall, walked over it, killed all the garrison, and returned to breakfast. What can withstand them?' The strong fortress of Ahmednuggur was next attacked, and compelled to surrender. There was a palace in the interior which contained an immense quantity of valuables, and of so tempting a kind that the general was compelled to hang two native soldiers in the gateway before he could quietly secure the booty for distribution in the proper way. The fort of Baroach* shared the fate of Ahmednuggur little more than a fortnight afterwards, and so successful were General Wellesley's operations, that if a good blow could be struck at Scindiah's army—reputed to be extremely formidable, not only from its numbers but the excellent discipline of the infantry, and its powerful, well-organised artillery—the Mahratta difficulty in that part of the peninsula at least might be considered terminated. To effect this desirable object no effort was spared, and on the 22d of September the hurkaras or scouts brought intelligence that the army of Scindiah was posted at Bohendur, no very great distance off. General Wellesley immediately divided his army into two divisions, one of which he placed under the command of Colonel Stevenson, with directions to make a detour to the west, in order to avoid passing through a narrow and dangerous defile; whilst he himself took the more direct easterly route. Stevenson was to rejoin him late in the evening of the 23d. Early on the morning of that day General Wellesley was informed by the hurkaras that Scindiah's cavalry had gone off, but that the infantry still remained at Bohendur. Wellesley put himself in motion instantly, leaving his baggage behind under a sufficient guard, and after a sultry, hurried march, found himself about noon suddenly in the presence of an army of 50,000 men, of which full 30,000 were cavalry, drawn up between the rivers Juah and Ketnah, the village of Aassy on the Juah being nearly in the centre of the line! The hurkaras had either wilfully or ignorantly deceived him.

As this terrible battle elicited the first unmistakable proof that General

Wellesley possessed those rare and indispensable attributes of a great commander—the eagle sweep which takes in at a glance all the essential points of the situation, however terrible it may be, or however suddenly presented; and the prompt sagacity and daring that at once decides upon and executes the fittest means of overcoming the threatened danger.—a somewhat detailed account of the unequal conflict may be desirable.

The Mahratta forces were, as we have said, drawn up between the rivers Juah and Ketnah: which streams gradually approaching each other, met on their left. In this narrow part of the peninsula, as we may call the ground thus marked by the confluence of the two rivers, the infantry, a disciplined body of about 12,000 men, were posted; in the centre 100 guns fully manned were ranged; and on the right, in the broader and still widening space leading up to Bohendur, upwards of 30,000 well-mounted horsemen, glittering in all the rainbow splendour of Eastern costume, were encamped—their apparently innumerable and various-coloured tents presenting all the life and bustle of a town, with jewellers, smiths, and other trades, pursuing their avocations as if within the walls of a peaceful and crowded city. The British force, amounting to no more than 8700 sabres and bayonets, with seventeen guns, arrived directly in front of this numerous and formidable cavalry, the river Ketnah running along their front till its junction with the Juah. It was a startling as well as magnificent spectacle, and so apparently desperate were the odds that General Wellesley has been frequently blamed by rule-and-line tacticians for hazarding a battle in which he had, according to them, no right to expect success. He should have retired, say they, and declined a battle till Stevenson had joined. Such reasoners appear to forget that there is a relative force and weakness of armies that cannot be estimated by merely counting their proportionate numbers. Above the colours of the English battalions there floated a halo which, however boldly the Mahratta soldiers might carry it, disquieted them more than would thrice the number of men, however brave and disciplined, who lacked it. The crash of the falling towers of Seringapatam, the swift destruction that had overtaken the King of the Two Worlds, the storming of Pettah, the capture of the strongholds of Ahmednuggur and Baroach, must have been vividly present to the imaginations of those impressionable children of the East, exciting dread and apprehension which no array of cannon nor of numbers on their own side could diminish, much less dissipate. To display fear or hesitation would be to throw away that mighty moral force; to retreat, to turn back before that numerous cavalry, would be ruin!

Whatever General Wellesley felt on finding himself unexpectedly before so imposing an array, no look or word betrayed the slightest surprise or dismay. A few minutes decided his plan of attack, which was as vigorously executed as it was ably conceived. The troops wheeled off quickly to the right, towards the confluence of the two rivers, and passing the ford of Peepulgao near the extremity of the narrowing peninsula, turned the left of the Mahratta force, compelling the infantry that composed it to change their front, and draw up in several lines across the peninsula, their right resting on the Ketnah, and their left on a nullah or stream which flowed parallel with the Ketnah, on the Juah side, by Assee. By this change of position it is evident the Mahratta cavalry could not fairly

operate till their infantry and artillery, now between them and the British force, were either beaten or victorious. A furious battle at once commenced; but it was soon found that the seventeen field-pieces possessed by the British could make no effectual reply to the numerous and well-served guns of the enemy, and General Wellesley commanded an attack by the bayonet along the entire front. A loud cheer greeted the welcome and decisive order; an advancing line of levelled steel glittered through the driving cannon-smoke; and with a fierce and rapid step the British soldiers closed upon their numerous foes. They were not waited for: the Mahratta infantry fired a feeble, ineffective volley, then broke and fled; the British left, which General Wellesley led in person, pursuing them with terrible slaughter, and capturing all their guns. The British right, composed of the 74th Regiment and some pickets, were equally successful in the charge; but in following it up, the officer in command, instead of taking a more sheltered circuitous course towards Assye, led his men across level ground, which the Mahratta artillery swept like a glacié, and the men fell by dozens. Seeing this, an immense body of Mahratta horse crept round by Assye, and fell upon the staggering English infantry. At this crisis of the battle, Colonel Maxwell was ordered to charge with the 19th Dragoons and a sepoy cavalry regiment. He did so valiantly, swept through, over, the Mahratta horse, cut down as he passed the gunners at their pieces, and broke through Scindiah's left with irresistible fury, utterly routing it. This gallant charge, successful as it was, was an exhausting one; and a cloud of Mahratta cavalry, which, drawn up on an eminence, had as yet only overlooked the battle, now joined in it, rallying as they came on the dispersed artillerymen and broken infantry. This movement the British general had foreseen and prepared for. The 78th Regiment and one of native horse had been held in reserve, and these, with the survivors of the 74th, vehemently charged the but as yet half-beaten Mahratta forces: Maxwell's brigade, who had in the meantime breathed their horses, joined in the fierce onslaught, and in a few minutes Scindiah's army, horse and foot, was a mass of panic-stricken fugitives, abandoning and throwing away in their headlong flight cannon, tents, arms, and stores, after losing in slain and wounded men and prisoners nearly twice the number of their assailants.

The victory was a splendid one, but it was dearly purchased. The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to 1584 men, according to the official lists; and amongst the former was the gallant Colonel Maxwell, who was slain in the pursuit. General Wellesley had two horses shot under him: 'one of them,' he wrote the next day, 'was Diomed, Colonel Aston's horse.' The loss fell, as usual in Indian battles, in much the greatest proportion upon the British part of the attacking force. The 74th especially suffered severely, and a picket that went into action with one officer and 150 men, mustered after the battle only four rank-and-file!

The Mahratta chiefs never recovered this heavy blow, followed as it was by the less remarkable, though quite as decisive victory of Argaum and the capture of Aaseerghur and Gawulgur. They sued for peace, and Lord Lake having been quite as successful in the northern provinces and at Delhi against M. Perron, terms dictated by the conquerors were agreed upon, and on the 30th of December 1803 the Mahratta war terminated.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

The work of General Wellesley in India was now accomplished, and he was anxious to return to Europe, where no soldier had yet appeared capable of measuring himself against the marshals of France, who, with their redoubted chief, had not only inspired the continent with a panic-terror of their arms, but were again threatening a descent upon England. He embarked for Europe on the 10th of March 1805 in the *Trident* frigate, after having received from the officers of the army he had commanded, the merchants of Calcutta, and the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, highly gratifying and substantial tokens of admiration and esteem. The officers of the army subscribed for a gold vase, to be inscribed with the name of his great victory, Assye—this was subsequently changed to a service of plate; the merchants of Calcutta presented him with a sword valued at a thousand guineas; and a far more honouring tribute than these—the native people of Seringapatam presented him with an address, containing a prayer ‘to the God of all castes and colours,’ to bless and reward him for his just and equal rule in the Mysore. He had been previously, on the 1st September 1804, created a Knight-Companion of the Bath, and was consequently now Sir Arthur Wellesley, K.C.B.

The cannon of Trafalgar awoke Napoleon from his day-dream of a successful invasion of England; and the British ministry, relieved from the idea of a French army advancing upon London, that had so long haunted them, despatched Earl Cathcart and General Don with a British force to Northern Germany, to assist in the confidently-predicted march to Paris of the now allied Austrian and Russian armies. The recently-arrived young ‘General of Sepoys’—as the scribes of the ‘*Moniteur*,’ not yet knowing him quite so well as in afteryears, sneeringly called Sir Arthur Wellesley—was ordered to join them there. By the time he arrived Lord Cathcart had received intelligence of the battle of Austerlitz, and the detachment against him of Augereau with 40,000 men of the Grand Army. The earl’s first thought on receiving this news was of the transport-ships, and his next to summon a council of war, to decide upon embarking. It was of course attended by Major-General Wellesley, who was the youngest general-officer present. The elders of the council were unanimous in their opinion of the desirableness of getting back to England as speedily as possible, although of course for different, but all equally cogent reasons. The sole dissentient was Sir Arthur Wellesley. He was of opinion that a heavy blow might be struck through Augereau at the superstition of French invincibility which prevailed throughout the continent, that would go far to rekindle the hopes extinguished in the blood of Austerlitz. ‘Say,’ argued the young general—‘say that Augereau has forty thousand men: they will be greatly diminished before he can reach us by his hurried march through a wasted and unfriendly country. And even if otherwise, strongly posted and abundantly supplied as we are, we ought to beat him. A victory might have immense results, and a defeat would not be ruinous, as we could always embark under cover of the shipping. That is a sure and ought to be a last resource.’ The seniors listened to the inexperienced soldier with elevated eyebrows and good-natured superiority. He might know how to win such battles as Assye, but what was that to encountering such terrible fellows as Augereau and forty thousand men of ‘the Grand Army!’ The rash

advice was spurned, and Wellesley, with a cold disdainful smile playing about his keen gray eyes and thin compressed lips, left the council, and soon afterwards was again in England.

On the 10th of April 1806 Sir Arthur Wellesley married the Honourable Catherine Pakenham, third daughter of Edward Michael, second Lord Longford. By this marriage he had issue two sons: Arthur, born 3d of February 1807, at Harley Street, London; and Charles, born 16th January 1808, at the Secretary's Lodge, near Dublin.

In 1806 Sir Arthur was returned to parliament for the borough of Rye, and on the 3d of April 1807 he accepted the office of chief-secretary for Ireland; with the express understanding, however, with the minister, that his secretaryship should not stand in the way of his military employment should occasion require his services. His administration of Irish affairs was characterised by an unbending harshness, that rendered him very unpopular there—for which probably he did not care one straw. He was the author of the famous Insurrection Act, which, amongst other pleasant provisions, enacted that any Irishman found out of his house after sundown in the proclaimed districts should be liable to transportation. Sir Arthur organised a police for Dublin, and in this is said to have rendered good service to the Irish metropolis. But work for which he was much better fitted was again preparing for him.

The Austro-Russian combination ended by Austerlitz and the treaty of Tilsit instead of the march to Paris and the dethronement of the French Emperor; and after some scandalous transactions between Napoleon and Alexander, by which, for the sake of a Russian alliance against Great Britain, the ruler of France agreed to transfer Wallachia and Moldavia to the northern potentate, with a half promise to throw in Constantinople over the bargain at some future day, the two emperors solemnly and magnanimously offered peace to England—a peace to be based upon the principle that each power should retain all it had acquired during the war. France, her continental acquisitions, including Spain, which Bonaparte, by shameless perfidy and force, had just taken military possession of; Russia, the two principalities we have mentioned; and England, the sugar-islands—colonies, even Malta, once so vehemently refused by Napoleon, that she had wrested from France, Spain, and Holland. This proposal, made with great form and circumstance, was substantially repelled at once, the British government in their reply refusing to treat without their allies, including the Spanish insurgents, as the czar and the emperor styled the outraged and indignant Spanish nation. Prosperity must have weakened Napoleon's ordinary observation, if it be true, as M. Thiers intimates, that he believed his new alliance would terrify this country into the abandonment of Spain and Turkey, and the acceptance of an unstable, futile peace. Russia, in any possible combination against Great Britain, must count for next to nothing, from not possessing any efficient means of offensive action against her, for the 'march to India' is nothing more than a dream. But there was a nearer and much greater fear: the Crown-Prince of Denmark, who had been for some time coquetting with Bonaparte, and who was known to be extremely anxious to retain his continental possessions—the portion of Germany that has lately been the cause and theatre of so much strife and bloodshed, and which in 1807 was completely in the

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power of the French ruler—had a numerous fleet at Copenhagen, that, if added to the French navy, might have redressed the catastrophe of Trafalgar, and this was therefore for England a veritable danger. Under these circumstances the British ministry determined on sending a naval and military expedition to the Danish capital, to enforce the surrender of the fleet to England, in trust, till the conclusion of a general peace. We shall not attempt to defend the much-controverted morality of this enterprise: indeed the morality of the most approved war-tactics is, if it exist at all, of so subtle and fugitive a nature, that, if willing, we should be quite unable to say what is or what is not in harmony with it; but this at least is certain, that subsequent disclosures proved irrefragably that if the Danish fleet had not been forcibly taken possession of by the English, it would have been handed over to Napoleon. But whatever the justice or expediency of the project, its execution was complete and masterly. The military force was nominally under the orders of Earl Cathcart, but Sir Arthur Wellesley, second in command, was virtually the leader of the expedition; and he, by the vigour and rapidity of his operations, left little else for the naval commander, Admiral Gambier, to do, than to escort the surrendered fleet safely home. Immediately on the arrival of the troops in the Isle of Zealand, the brief campaign commenced. The Danish forces offered a brave opposition at Kiøge; but they were pushed aside, or driven headlong upon Copenhagen, with the loss of 1100 prisoners, including sixty officers and ten pieces of cannon. The cannonade and bombardment of the Danish capital followed quickly afterwards: it was in flames on the 4th, and on the 5th of September 1808, just as the storming forces were about to attack the breach, the Crown-Prince capitulated. The Danish fleet, consisting of sixteen sail of the line, nine frigates, fourteen sloops, with an immense quantity of naval stores, were given up to the British admiral, and conveyed to England. Two ships on the stocks were also taken to pieces and carried away, and two others were burnt. The operations were throughout conducted by Sir Arthur Wellesley—the Earl Cathcart, much to his credit for good sense, having confined himself to receiving and perusing the dispatches to head-quarters of his skilful and audacious second in command. For this service Sir Arthur, and of course Earl Cathcart and Admiral Gambier, received the thanks of the crown and parliament.

Lord Roslyn, who accompanied the expedition, took a favourite mare with him, which proved with foal in the isle of Zealand. On her return home a colt was produced, which was named Copenhagen and was the famous horse that carried the Duke through the day of Waterloo, and was buried with military honours at Stratfieldsaye in 1835.

The desperate though badly organised and unsuccessful resistance of the insurgent Spanish people to the infamous seizure of their country by Bonaparte, and the occupation of Lisbon by Marshal Junot, Duke of Abrantès, induced the British government to send an auxiliary army to the Peninsula, and the command of the troops assembled at Cork for that purpose was given to Sir Arthur Wellesley. The ardent general arrived at Corunna on the 20th of July 1808, and was there informed by the vapouring Junta that Spain had plenty of soldiers: she only wanted money. They added that the British army could not be better employed than in clearing Portugal of

the French force under Junot. The unaccountable surrender of Dupont at Baylen had in fact turned the brains of the juntas throughout Spain, and it required many and bitter lessons to bring them back to modesty and reason. Sir Arthur immediately sailed for the Tagus, and after an interview with Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, who was blockading a Russian squadron that had taken refuge in that river, decided on landing at the mouth of the Mondego, an operation which was effected on the 3d of August 1808. General Spencer had joined, and their united forces amounted to nearly 20,000 men, but were utterly deficient in cavalry, there being only a few hundred badly-mounted horsemen with the force. Sir John Moore, Sir Arthur's senior officer, was daily expected with a large reinforcement; but General Wellesley, naturally anxious to strike a good blow before another arrived to snatch the command from him, marched rapidly along the coast towards Lisbon. General Bernardin Freire, a Portuguese officer, at the head of about 6000 men, accompanied Wellesley for some distance; but as they neared the French, a rooted disbelief in the possibility of vanquishing Napoleon's generals grew upon him, and casting about for an excuse to avoid the approaching conflict, he hit upon the singular one of demanding that the British general should supply the Portuguese troops with rations! This absurd requisition was of course refused; indeed it was impossible to comply with it, and Don Bernardin separated himself from the English commander, leaving, however, at the request of the latter—who was anxious to retain the moral support with the country people of the presence of native troops—one regiment with the British, whom Sir Arthur undertook to supply with rations. The first resistance encountered was at Roliça, where the French general, Laborde, resolutely defended some difficult, tangled passes, retiring slowly step by step, and inflicting great loss upon the British, who could not from the nature of the ground return his incessant, well-directed fire with any effect. This destruction accomplished, Laborde retreated rapidly and skilfully before the English could reach him in any sufficient force. The day after this bitter fight, the army resumed its route, and received intelligence that Junot had marched out of Lisbon—after threatening to fire it on his return if, during his absence, there should be any effort at revolt—had rallied Laborde and Loyson, and was coming on with the fixed intention of 'driving the Leopards into the sea;' this being the stereotyped 'Moniteur' phrase for beating and drowning the English armies. Meanwhile the 'Leopards,' confident in their general and themselves, were in the highest spirits, nothing doubting that a gazette-extraordinary would, before many days elapsed, silence the exasperating sneers of certain eloquent English politicians at the folly and rashness, as they were pleased to term it, of opposing the 'pipe-clayed soldiers of Whitehall' to the war-accustomed veterans of France. A dark cloud came between them and their hopes. A dispatch from Lord Castlereagh had informed Sir Arthur Wellesley that Sir Harry Burrard was on his way to supersede him in the command of the troops, and that shortly afterwards Sir Hew Dalrymple might be expected to supersede Sir Harry. The first instalment of the threatened calamity had arrived. General Burrard's presence on board a frigate off the coast was signalled, and Sir Arthur, as in duty bound, waited upon him, and reported the state of affairs. He related what had been already

done, and announced his intention of marching to meet Junot at dawn the next morning. Sir Harry Burrard would not hear of such a proceeding, than which nothing, he said, could be more rash. 'Offer battle without cavalry, and with artillery horses, as Sir Harry Burrard understood, good for nothing! Sir Arthur must not think of such a thing: no battle must be offered till the arrival of the reinforcements under Sir John Moore.' Vainly did Sir Arthur urge his reasons for desiring immediate battle, and assure General Burrard that success was as certain as any not yet accomplished event in war could be. It was useless: the advance of the army was peremptorily forbidden; and one can easily believe that as Sir Arthur stepped into the boat that was to convey him ashore, the same bitter smile which had been observed in Earl Cathcart's council-room again played about his lips with increased intensity, and that a flushed and angry brow surmounted the flashing eyes. Fortune made amends for the injustice of his official superior. The morning disclosed the gratifying sight of Junot's army in full march towards the English, and without a shameful flight, battle was inevitable. Sir Arthur's dispositions were quickly made, and with perfect tranquillity and confidence he awaited Junot's approach. The French attacked with their usual valour and impetuosity, and after an obstinate conflict were driven back in utter confusion upon all points, leaving in the power of the British thirteen guns and many hundred prisoners, amongst whom was a general-officer. It was now twelve o'clock; Sir Harry Burrard, who had landed a short time previously, assumed the command, and Sir Arthur's order for two divisions of the army to press fiercely upon the disordered French and drive them over the Sierra de Baraguedo, whilst Hill, Anstruther, and Paine by a rapid flank-march gained the Pass of Torres-Vedras, and cut Junot off from Lisbon—which would have been equivalent, or nearly so, to the French commander's surrendering at discretion—was countermanded. Sir Arthur Wellesley expostulated warmly it is said. General Burrard gave his reasons:—Enough had been done; the English had no cavalry; the French were rallying; the artillery-traces were damaged, etcetera. In fine, he would hear of no pursuit; especially of no flank-march upon Lisbon, which was a thing contrary to all rule. Sir Arthur, obliged to yield, turned to one of the staff, and said: 'We had better see about getting some dinner, as there is nothing more for soldiers to do to-day.' Thus ended the battle of Vimeira.

Junot, thanks to Sir Harry Burrard, got safely back to Lisbon, and there dictated a bulletin explanatory of the reasons why he had not driven the Leopards into the sea, afterwards published in the 'Moniteur' as materials for history. Sir Hew Dalrymple arrived soon afterwards, and he and Sir Harry Burrard, with General Wellesley's sullen assent—for in the present posture of affairs nothing better seemed likely to be done—concluded the famous Convention, called of Cintra, why it is difficult to say, by virtue of which the French army were to evacuate Portugal, on condition of being comfortably conveyed with all their arms, horses, artillery, baggage (plunder), to the nearest French port, in British vessels! One of the conditions granted by Dalrymple was that the Russian fleet should be permitted to leave the Tagus, and be given certain *law* or distance, as sportsmen do to a fox, before the British admiral started in pursuit.

This article required the consent of Sir Charles Cotton, and was at once rejected by that officer. This news arriving in the British camp caused immense exultation there, from the belief that the hated Convention was consequently at an end. Sir Hew Dalrymple thought so too, and wrote in that sense to Junot; but the marshal was too well satisfied with the Convention to hesitate at the sacrifice of the Russian fleet; and at once signed it, quite regardless of the omission of the stipulation in behalf of the French Emperor's august ally.

Sir Arthur Wellesley got away home as quickly as he could, and resumed his duties as Irish secretary, grimly awaiting a time when he might measure himself with those famous French marshals unfettered and uncrippled by such well-meaning, old-world generals as Burrard and Dalrymple.

The burst of indignation excited in England by the news of the Convention of Cintra compelled the ministry to appoint a court of inquiry, which, under the presidency of Earl Moira, met at Chelsea. It led to no result, and would scarcely have been worth mentioning here except for the purpose of relating a very honourable, although apparently trifling incident in so crowded a life as that of the Duke of Wellington. Sir Arthur was questioned relative to the refusal of Sir Harry Burrard to permit the flank-march upon Lisbon after the victory of Vimeira. He generously excused Burrard, although of course maintaining that he had judged rightly in ordering the movement which that general had countermanded. 'I would do so again,' said Sir Arthur, 'under similar circumstances; still, I am bound to say that Sir Harry Burrard decided on fair military reasons.' No doubt of it. The only difference was, that Sir Arthur could see further and more clearly than the aged veteran, who, there can be no doubt, decided, as he believed, for the best.

The able but disastrous campaign of Sir John Moore followed—a campaign flippantly condemned by the glittering rhetoric of Mr Canning and other orators, but of which the Duke of Wellington has written the following defence:—'The only error I can discern in Sir John Moore's campaign is, that he ought to have looked upon the advance to Sahagun as a movement in retreat, and have sent officers to the rear to mark and arrange the halting-points of each brigade. But this is an opinion formed after a long experience of war, and especially of Spanish war, which must be seen to be understood. Finally, it is an opinion formed after the event.' Marshal Soult, who commanded the French at Corunna, speaks thus of the English general: 'General Moore opposed every possible obstacle to me during a long and difficult retreat, and died in a battle which does honour to his memory.' These testimonies are as honourable to the commanders who penned them as to the gallant but ill-fated soldier whose fame they vindicate.

The deliverance of the Peninsula was still a prime object with the people of Great Britain, and it was determined to make another strenuous effort towards its accomplishment. Sir Arthur Wellesley, upon the distinct understanding that he should not be again superseded without reasonable cause, accepted the command of the army in Portugal; finally resigned the office of Irish Secretary; and arrived at Lisbon on the 22d of April 1809, Sir John Cradock, who had previously commanded there, returning home.

Active preparations for immediate hostilities at once commenced, and were urged with such unflagging vigour by Sir Arthur that in little more than a fortnight after his arrival in Portugal he was enabled to strike the terrible blow at Soult which, reverberating throughout Europe, first roused the nations to a perception of the great fact that a general had at last entered the lists against France, who in skill, promptitude, and daring was to the full the equal of the distinguished military chieftains that had sprung from that soldier-teeming soil. Our space will forbid us to do more than glance at the series of brilliant triumphs that illuminate the history of the Peninsular campaign: we can only hurriedly point to the more salient and conspicuous heights along which leaped the flame of victory till it shone upon the startled land of France. And let us not be misunderstood in thus speaking of the skill and hardihood displayed by our countrymen in the strictly-defensive contest waged in behalf of the betrayed and downtrodden peoples of Spain and Portugal. We yield to none in our dislike of war. Successful violence and wrong, however gilded over with fine-sounding phrases, however blazoned in history and song, are still with us detestable violence and wrong. But the spirit which prompts resistance to insolent invasion, and valiant defiance of triumphant oppression, is a virtue, a true heroism: its aim, the vindication of justice—its final victory, peace.

Marshal Soult had some time previously invaded Portugal from Orense in Galicia, and after dissipating the undisciplined forces opposed to him, and committing or permitting many cruel excesses, established his headquarters at Oporto, on the Douro, with about 25,000 men. Marshal Victor, with another considerable French army, was at Almeida. It was desirable to attack them separately, and at once; and the British general, after providing against danger from Victor, marched with the step of a giant upon Oporto. Arrived on the borders of the Douro, he found Soult quietly reposing in the subjugated city, after taking the precaution of destroying the bridge and securing all the boats to his own side of a river three hundred yards wide. This done, he felt perfectly satisfied that he could not be attacked except by sea, and without receiving full notice of the intention of his enemy. He was slumbering in a fool's paradise. Sir Arthur Wellesley first despatched Beresford to seize the bridge at Amarante held by Loyson, and prevent Soult's escape by that road; then Sir John Murray, with the British cavalry, was sent off to cross the Douro some miles further up; and at dawn of day on the 12th of May, Sir Arthur with his staff, partially concealed from the unsuspecting French outposts by a bend in the river, was eagerly searching for means of crossing to the other side. The eye of the British general rested upon a large unfinished building on the opposite shore, called a seminary. Could he find or contrive means of crossing, it would, he saw, afford a strong *point d'appui* for the passage of the troops. At this moment Colonel Waters, a zealous and adventurous staff-officer, brought the welcome intelligence that, having met a poor harbor crossing in a skiff at some distance up the river, he, aided by the influence of the prior of Amarante, had persuaded the barber not only to lend his boat, but to return with them to the other side, and assist in unfastening and bringing across three barges. This was great news. The barges were quickly reported ready,

and a brief 'Let the men cross,' gave the order for this daring enterprise. The first detachment landed unobserved, and took quiet possession of the unfinished seminary; the second and the third were equally fortunate; but before the fourth could cross, the quick firing of the French sentinels, soon followed by the hurried roll of Soult's drums, announced that they were discovered; and the British troops, who had hitherto been kept out of sight, crowded to the banks of the river, and greeted the French—who presently poured out of Oporto in order to attack the seminary before its defenders became too numerous—with loud shouts of exultation and defiance. The struggle at the seminary soon became furious—deadly. Pager was wounded. Hill succeeded him, but so doubtful at one time appeared the issue that Sir Arthur, but for the remonstrances of his staff, and the reflection that Hill would do all that man could to maintain the position, would himself have crossed over. Presently loud shouts were heard from the quays of the awakened city, whose inhabitants, roused from their slumbers by the din and tumult of the surprise and contest, were unchaining the boats, and rowing them with frantic eagerness across the river. The British now crossed by hundreds, and it was not long before a cloud of dust, through which glimmered the flashing sabres of the English cavalry, announced the approach of Sir John Murray. Soult saw that the game was lost; and abandoning the city, his sick, stores, baggage, and artillery, everything with the exception of a few light field-pieces, went off rapidly in the direction of the bridge of Amarante, which he expected to find in the safe-keeping of the 3000 men under Loyson. This hurried retreat must at once have changed to a headlong flight but for the unaccountable inaction of Sir John Murray, who kept his impatient squadrons immovable in their ranks whilst the disordered stream of soldiery swept past. General Stewart, now Marquis of Londonderry, impatient of this strange inactivity, charged without, or rather in defiance of orders, at the head of the 14th Dragoons alone, right through the retiring columns; but remaining unsupported by Murray, got roughly handled, and lost a considerable number of men. Soult, eagerly followed by the British army as soon as it could be got in order for that purpose, crossed the Souza River, and there, to his mortification and dismay, met Loyson's force, which had hastily retired from before Beresford. The French marshal's position now appeared desperate, and Loyson suggested the idea of a convention like that of Cintra. Soult, hopeless in all probability of cheating out of the fruits of his calculated daring the general who had struck him the blow he was writhing under, rejected the proposal; and having found a Spanish pedler, who informed him there was a road which led over the Sierra Catarina to Guinaraens, the marshal abandoned Loyson's and his own remaining cannon, baggage, military chest, and boldly followed his Spanish guide across the mountains. Everything was thrown away that could in the slightest degree impede this terrible retreat—terrible not only to the French, whose stragglers were mercilessly slain by the peasantry, roused into ferocious activity by the unlooked-for sight of the discomfiture and rout of the so-lately recklessly triumphant troops—

'The desolator desolate, the victor overthrown'—

but to the wretched country people in the line of march, whom the French, in retaliation for the cruelties inflicted in their sight upon the maimed and footsore of their own people, shot without scruple or remorse, at the same time firing their dwellings, thus marking every step of their flight with blood and flame and ruin. It was doubtful, too, if after all they would escape, for at every pause for scanty rest the tramp and gallop of the British army sounded more and more distinctly in their rear, and tidings reached Soult that the only bridge by which escape was possible—that of Ponte Nova, on the Cavado—was partly cut, and in possession of a Portuguese guard. Sending for Major Dulong, an officer of distinguished bravery, the marshal, after briefly explaining the situation, said: 'Take a hundred grenadiers and twenty-five horsemen, and endeavour to surprise and repair the bridge. If you are successful, let me know immediately; if you fail, you need send no message—your silence will be enough.' Dulong, favoured by the storm and darkness of the night, succeeded in his perilous and wellnigh desperate enterprise. Only a narrow ledge of the bridge remained passable, and over this he and his grenadiers crawled in single file upon their hands and feet. One soldier lost his hold and fell into the Cavado, his cry of agony, fortunately for his comrades, being drowned in the roar and splash of the howling storm and rushing waters. The Portuguese sentinel was surprised and slain, and the heedless guard were overpowered and dispersed. The bridge was hastily repaired, and the French army was enabled to pass slowly over, a portion of the British artillery only arriving in time to strew the passage and defile the river with numerous dead and wounded men of the rearguard. Soult ultimately reached Orense in Galicia, and there the British cavalry desisted from further pursuit. The French marshal had left that town eleven weeks previously with 25,000 veteran troops, fifty-eight pieces of artillery, numerous stores, and valuable baggage. He returned to it with 19,000 men, destitute of everything but the arms in their hands and the ragged clothing on their backs. With such passages in this terrific war as this frightful retreat or rather flight presents, and with the dreadful misery and ruin inflicted and suffered fresh in the memory—the war, it is impossible to deny, originating in the insatiable ambition of the French Emperor—the recollection of the sentimental cry set up against the cruelty of Napoleon's imprisonment at St Helena strikes the mind with a feeling of astonishment at the infinitely-varied and discordant scale by which human actions are sometimes judged in this strange world of ours.

Marshal Victor, on hearing of the disaster which had befallen Soult, united himself with Jourdan and King Joseph, and, conjointly with them, on the 28th and 29th of July, fought the battle of Talavera de la Reyna against General Wellesley's army and the Spanish force under Cuesta. This battle would never have been hazarded by the British general had he not been misled into an almost inextricable position by the imbecility and braggadocio of Cuesta. The Spanish soldiers, individually as brave perhaps as others, were so wretchedly organised, so inefficiently commanded, that they, on the day of trial, proved almost useless. The position of the British army when it was ascertained that Cuesta's army could not be relied upon was manifestly one of extreme peril. Joseph, Victor, and Jourdan, were in front with an army immensely superior to that commanded

by General Wellesley; and Soult, who with veteran readiness had already re-organised and re-equipped his so lately-beaten force, which had more-over been powerfully reinforced, was in full march upon Sir Arthur's communications with Portugal, with the intention of falling upon the British rear. Soult sent messenger after messenger to King Joseph, begging him not to fight till he (Soult) could get up. Fortunately Victor's presumption and Joseph's pliancy prevented this wary counsel from being adopted. Talavera was fought: the French, after a tremendous contest, were driven beyond the Alberche with the loss of ten guns, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, whom victory alone could enable to retreat, withdrew his army, by this time reduced to 17,000 men, by the line of the Tagus into Portugal. The Spanish troops, now become a mere armed mob, followed, hotly pursued by Marshal Victor, who captured the British hospitals, unavoidably left for a brief space under Cuesta's charge. General Craufurd's brigade was sixty-two miles distant from Talavera when he first heard of the imminence of the unequal fight. He instantly put his troops in motion, marched without rest towards the scene of action, his own and his soldiers' impatience but stimulated by meeting scores of runaways from the first day's fight—not all of them Spaniards, nor private soldiers—who asserted that the British were beaten and in full retreat. Craufurd crossed the field of battle on the evening of the victory, having brought his men in heavy marching-order sixty-two miles in twenty-six hours, and this, too, in the July of a Spanish summer. That ground had been traversed a short time before his arrival by a far deadlier enemy than the French. The tall dry grass had by some accident caught fire, and hundreds of wounded soldiers thickly scattered over the field of death perished miserably in the flames. For this battle, and the passage of the Douro, the British general was on the 26th of the following August created a peer of England by the title of Baron Douro and Viscount Wellington. He also received the thanks of parliament for Talavera, a battle in which he had unquestionably displayed consummate mastery in the art of handling troops in the face of an enemy, and abundant resources in moments of perilous emergency. On the 10th of February 1810, the Commons voted Lord Wellington a pension of £2000 a year, with succession for two generations.

Determined never again to trust to the co-operation of Spanish generals or armies, Lord Wellington now anxiously directed his attention to the best mode of effectually defending Portugal by the British army, aided by the Portuguese regiments which were being disciplined, organised, and officered under the direction of General Beresford, created for that purpose a marshal in the Portuguese service. His meditations resulted in the conception of the celebrated lines of Torres-Vedras, which were at once commenced, but without the slightest ostentation or hint of the purpose to which they were destined.

In the spring of 1810 Marshal Massena, 'the spoiled child of victory,' as he was designated by Napoleon, was appointed to the as yet baffled task of driving, with Ney's assistance, the English Leopards into the sea; but the renowned commander quickly found that Dame Fortune has frowns as well as favours for the most indulged of her children. Massena crowed loudly, assuring the French Emperor that he was certain of success, and the aspect of affairs appeared to justify his vaunting arrogance. The French army

destined to operate against Wellington had been increased to 90,000 men, chiefly veteran soldiers, to whom the English general could not oppose more than 40,000 British troops, the remainder of his army being composed of the as yet untried Portuguese regiments. The thousands of gallant men sent to perish in the pestilential marshes of the low countries might indeed have more than restored the balance; but they died uselessly, victims of the presumptuous ignorance of such men as Perceval and Canning, who, unwarned by failure, *would* persist in directing the military operations of Great Britain. Massena opened the campaign with great spirit, and advanced with elate step towards Lord Wellington, who, having concentrated his force, slowly retired, to give time to the Portuguese people to retire, as he commanded, with all the provisions and property they could take with them to Lisbon, after destroying and laying waste that which could *not* be carried off.

These orders were in general cheerfully obeyed. His plan of defence, as yet not guessed at by the French marshal, worked efficiently: and in order to give a hopeful tone to the mind of a nation whom imperious necessity compelled to submit to such terrible sacrifices, as well as to check the exulting tide of French impetuosity, he halted and offered battle at Bussaco. He was unhesitatingly attacked, Ney leading one of the divisions—all of which were defeated, and hurled back with heavy loss and discomfiture. Not the slightest impression could be made by 'the spoiled child of victory;' and after waiting in position a sufficient time to enable Massena to renew the attack, if he had so willed, Wellington, in pursuance of his settled purpose, leisurely withdrew to the lines of Torres-Vedras, which he reached and occupied on the 10th of October. The French marshal, with confidence restored by this retrograde movement, eagerly followed through a wasted country an enemy whom he fondly imagined was retreating to the shelter of his ships. On the 12th Massena arrived in front of the lines and looked at them. He did no more, remaining in a state of stupor and inaction till the 16th of November, when no food of any kind, not even pulse or horse-flesh, being any longer attainable, his suffering, demoralised army retreated, pursued by Wellington, who had been reinforced seaward, and the enemy were ultimately driven out of Portugal.

In 1811 Lord Wellington received the thanks of the British crown and parliament for the liberation of Portugal. We have no space to recount the incidents of the battles of Fuentes d'Onor on the 3d and 5th of May, wherein victory, as was her wont, rested with the British general; nor those of the terrific fight at Albuera, in which the desperate bravery and hardihood of the rifle-brigade, under the direction of Captain, now Lord Hardinge, retrieved a battle perilled by the hesitation or incapacity of Marshal Beresford; and the dashing enterprise of General Hill at Arroyo de Molinos—where that gallant officer surprised Girard, dispersed his force, captured all his cannon, and 1700 cavalry of the Imperial Guard—must be passed over. 'The spoiled child of victory' had been recalled, and his place filled by Marshal Marmont, who was ordered to finish with the British general at any sacrifice; and that he might do so, the army placed under his orders was powerfully reinforced by numerous battalions of the Imperial Guard.

Marmont very speedily concentrated between 60,000 and 70,000

admirable soldiers, who, confident of victory, marched exultingly to battle. The first rencontre of Marmont's troops with the British was in a slight affair, as far as numbers were concerned, at El-Bodon, and remarkable only for the proof it afforded of the impossibility of overthrowing a valiant, well-disciplined infantry, by charges of cavalry, however brave, numerous, and determined may be the horsemen.

When this combat occurred, the British general, now Earl of Wellington, was making a retrograde movement for the purpose of uniting his somewhat widely-sundered army. He himself took post at Guinaldo; Craufurd, who with the light division was about sixteen miles distant, was ordered to join him there immediately; the left of the army under Graham was ten miles off; and the 5th division was at Paro, in the mountains, twelve miles distant. In this situation of the army, Craufurd's disobedience or neglect of orders, but for the iron nerve of the British general, would have lost the light division. Instead of marching without pause upon Guinaldo, he halted for the day, after accomplishing about four miles only. This gave time for the concentration of Marmont's imposing force, consisting, as we have before stated, of nearly 70,000 excellent soldiers, in front of the position occupied by the Earl of Wellington at Guinaldo, with not more than 14,000 men! To leave the post without waiting for the light division was to abandon the latter to certain destruction or capture; and during that evening and night, and the next day till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the light division was out of danger, the British general held the position at Guinaldo so confidently that Marmont firmly believed himself to be in front of Wellington's entire army; and whilst meditating the best mode of attack, displayed his splendid troops by a grand parade in the plains below. The apparent coolness of Wellington, upon whose impassive countenance, as he looked upon the brilliant show beneath, only a grim smile was seen occasionally to pass, excited the wonder of his staff, all of whom were of course aware of the extreme peril of the situation. At last an officer galloped up to announce the safe arrival of the light division, when a long-drawn, heavy breath, and a broken exclamation of joy, which escaped the British general, shewed how keen had been the anxiety concealed beneath the marble exterior. The troops were instantly withdrawn, and an able concentric movement united the army on the following day.

The astonishment of Marmont on becoming aware of what had occurred was extreme, and his pre-occupation for several hours afterwards was remarked by all who approached him. During a conversation with the officers of his staff, one of them happened to speak of Napoleon's brilliant star. 'And this Wellington,' said Marmont, looking suddenly up and speaking with vivacity, 'his star is brilliant too.' The remark was a prophetic one, as the French marshal before many days had passed learned to his cost.

We now come to the astonishing winter-campaign of 1812, but even that we may but briefly dwell upon. And here a statement must be made that will greatly surprise those readers who remember what enormous subsidies were squandered during the war by successive English ministries upon inefficient foreign armies. Lord Wellington, whose victories were the sole aliment of hope to the struggling peoples of the continent, was, spite of the most urgent, almost pathetic entreaties,

kept nearly penniless for weeks and months together. At the close of the year 1811, he was involved in enormous debt, contracted for the supply of his troops; and after all he could raise by way of credit, the pay of the army was more than three months in arrear, and that of the muleteers eight months! Half and quarter rations were frequently served out, and more than once the soldiers were without bread for three days together. An official personage wrote as follows to the harassed general: 'I have clamoured for money—money—money for you in every office, and everywhere with no effect. Our great men (Messrs Perceval and Canning) seem just now more occupied with the O. P. playhouse riots than with your necessities.' The clothing, too, of the British troops had become so patched and variegated, that a regiment could scarcely be distinguished by its uniform; and yet these scantily-fed and barely-clad troops had withal become terribly efficient in the field—rough, stubborn soldiers, who would hesitate at no odds however great, shrink from no danger however imminent and terrible; would, in fact, in their general's words, 'go anywhere and do anything.' Lord Wellington was extremely anxious to strike a great blow, if it could be done with any chance of success, not only to gratify the British people—who little imagined how miserably, since the Marquis of Wellesley had ceased to influence the British councils, their gallant army and favourite general were starved and stinted—but to fan the rising flame of resistance, once more beginning to shew itself in the east and north of Europe. In order to do this, it was necessary to make even his needs subservient to his audacious purpose. There were two French armies at no great distance: one under Marmont; the other commanded by Soult in Andalusia. These armies remained separate, from the clear impossibility of both finding subsistence in one locality. The French marshals were informed by their numerous spies of the destitution in many important respects of their great antagonist, and he determined they should continue to believe him to be in every way helplessly crippled. His object was to storm the two strong and important Spanish fortresses, both garrisoned by choice French troops, of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, and so conceal and time his enterprise that neither Soult nor Marmont should be able to afford either of the garrisons any effectual relief or assistance. To effect this the closest secrecy as to his purpose was of course absolutely necessary. Hitherto his intentions, if intrusted to subordinate officers, or communicated to ministers, always by some means or other found their way into the English newspapers, translations of which were made in Paris and transmitted to the French commanders. He determined this time to put the ubiquitous journals on a wrong scent, and succeeded admirably. General Quartermaster Murray, requesting leave of absence, was granted it immediately, 'as nothing could be done till the spring.' This was repeated by General Murray on his arrival in England, and extracts from the London newspapers in due time certified the fact to the anxious French marshals. Even the chief engineers of the army only guessed that a siege or the semblance of a siege was contemplated. He hit upon a still more effectual mode of deceiving the French generals. A splendid iron battering-train had arrived at Lisbon from England. Wellington had it reshipped with some ostentation for Cadiz, causing it to be met at sea by vessels of light draught, into which the cannon were shifted,

and conveyed first to Oporto and then in boats to Lamego, whilst the ships went on to Cadiz. At length, his preparations thoroughly complete, and his project unguessed even by his own soldiers, he suddenly put the army in motion, reached, battered, and stormed Ciudad Rodrigo. Its fall on the 16th of January 1812 came like a thunderbolt upon the French marshals, who did not at first credit the intelligence. There was, however, no help for it; and as their spies informed them that Wellington was returning to his old quarters, after a little idle bustle, they gradually settled into quietude again. The thunder of the English cannon, directed against the crumbling walls of Badajos, awoke them a second time from their dream of security; but before any effectual combination could be concerted, that fortress too had fallen. It was stormed on the night of the 6th of April, at a sacrifice of life so frightful as to overcome for a moment the iron sternness of the British general, who, at the sight of the thousands of his gallant veterans that had fallen before an entrance could be won, burst into tears. Philippon, the commandant of Badajos, preserved Soult from a worse disaster than had yet befallen him, by conveying to him timely intelligence of the fall of that fortress. The Duke of Dalmatia was marching to Philippon's assistance when the messenger reached him, and he had just time to retrace his steps, and escape the signal overthrow that General Hill, who had been lying in wait for his advance, would unquestionably have inflicted upon him, seconded as he would now have been by the whole of the disengaged army.

In the beginning of July the opposing armies once more gradually approached each other near Salamanca. A contest of manœuvres took place on the Tormes, in which neither side for some time gained any advantage. At length Lord Wellington, becoming utterly destitute of the means of keeping the field, reluctantly determined on retiring by the road to Ciudad Rodrigo, and dispositions with that view were made. His inability to prosecute the campaign arose entirely from the supineness of the English ministry, who had failed to afford him the necessary supplies. 'I have never,' he wrote at the time, 'been in such distress as at present, and some serious misfortune must happen if the government does not attend to the subject, and supply us regularly with money.' Marmont divined the intention of the British commander, and on the 22d of July hazarded a move which, had a less skilful player been opposed to him, might have been successful, but attempted against Wellington it turned out to be a disastrous blunder, ruinous alike to the French army and the marshal's own reputation. He despatched Thomière's *corps d'armée* with fifty guns by a circuitous route to turn the left of the British army, and thus prevent its retreat by Ciudad Rodrigo. Owing to the nature of the ground, this movement was not observed by the English officers till about two hours after it had commenced. It was of course immediately communicated to Lord Wellington, who saw at a glance its full significance. He sprang to his feet so eagerly that he overturned the table at which he had been sitting, and exclaimed with irrepressible exultation: 'If that be so, Marmont's good-fortune has for once deserted him.' It was quite true. Thomière's *corps d'armée*, extending two or three miles in length, was hopelessly sundered from the main body of Marmont's troops. The blunder was an enormous one, and the British general

quickly rendered it irreparable. Staff-officers went off at a gallop in every direction; the infantry stood to their arms; the cavalry vaulted to their saddles; the artillery unlimbered; and Marmont's weakened army was instantly attacked in overwhelming force. The French marshal saw his error, and officer after officer was despatched to command the return of Thomière. They never reached him. As the head of Thomière's leading column emerged upon the Ciudad Rodrigo road, where they expected to find the British in full retreat, Pakenham fell like a thunderbolt upon his rear, and rolled up the long, straggling line with hideous slaughter, to which no effectual resistance could be opposed. Marmont's heart died within him at the sight. Brave as steel, however, as most French soldiers are, he struggled desperately to maintain the combat, but the explosion of a shell grievously wounding him, he was carried out of the battle. Clausel succeeded to the command, but the fortune of the day could not be changed. The French army was utterly defeated, and driven off the field, with the loss of its artillery, several thousand prisoners, and a vast number of slain and wounded men. General Foy, who exerted himself zealously to protect the retreat, writing of Salamanca, said: 'It was a battle in which forty thousand men were beaten in forty minutes.' The news of Marmont's signal defeat reached the French Emperor just as he had crossed the Berridino, and must have fallen as a dread and evil omen upon that superstitious votary and child of destiny. Salamanca was by far the completest victory yet gained by the British general over the French armies, and was always that upon which he chiefly prided himself. 'I saw him,' remarks the historian, General Napier—'I saw him late in the evening of that great day, when the advancing flashes of cannon and musketry shewed how well the field was won: he was alone. The flush of victory was upon his brow, and his eyes were eager and watchful, but his voice was calm and even gentle. With a prescient pride he seemed to accept this glory as an earnest of greater things to come.' The valour and enthusiasm displayed by all ranks of the victorious army on this occasion historians speak of as remarkable; and one of the weaker and better sex exhibited a heroic disregard of danger that would not have shamed the bravest soldier there. 'The wife of Colonel Dalbiac,' says the author we have just quoted, 'a delicate and timid English lady, rode deep into the fire, actuated by a fear stronger than that of death.' A daughter of this lady is, we believe, the present Duchess of Roxburghe.

On the 12th of August following, Wellington made his triumphant entry into Madrid amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and was immediately afterwards appointed generalissimo of the Spanish armies. On the 18th of the same month he was created Marquis of Wellington by the Prince-Regent of England.

The next great incidents of the war were the unsuccessful attack upon the fortress of Burgos, numerously garrisoned by French troops commanded by Marshal Clausel, the consequent retreat upon Portugal, and the evacuation of Madrid.

In the beginning of 1813, the Marquis of Wellington, upon whom the colonelcy of the royal regiment of Horseguards had been previously conferred, was created a Knight of the Garter. He visited Cadiz, and sailed thence to Lisbon, where he was received by the population with great

enthusiasm. Hope of permanent deliverance had revived in the hearts of the people. The news of the disastrous issue of Napoleon's Russian campaign had been published, and everywhere a determination to press the French armies vigorously was manifested. The Marquis of Wellington's army advanced rapidly through Spain, King Joseph and his marshals retiring to concentrate their forces near Vittoria, where, on the 21st June 1813, they accepted battle, and the total irremediable rout of the French army was the result. That army lost their cannon, stores, a vast number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the intrusive monarch his carriages, treasure, and baggage, glad doubtless to escape with life from his imaginary kingdom. Marshal Jourdan, in the hurry of his flight, left his truncheon behind him a trophy for the victors, which on 3d of July the Gazette announced had been conferred by the Prince-Regent upon Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington. Honours and rewards were thickly showered about this time upon the triumphant British general. One hundred thousand pounds for the purchase of an estate had been voted him by the English parliament, and he was now created by the Spanish authorities Duque de Ciudad Rodrigo, and a grandee of Spain of the first class. The estate of Soto de Roma, of which the unhappily celebrated Prince of Peace had been despoiled, was bestowed upon him by the Cadiz Cortes, 'in testimony of the gratitude of the Spanish nation.' He accepted the gift, but the proceeds of the estate were devoted during the war to the public service.

These honours, gifts, and compliments were, so far as the Cortes and ruling powers of Spain were concerned, mere veils to hide from the world their envy and dislike both of the English nation and their general. All fear of the French having passed away, the instinctive Spanish aversion to foreigners seized anew upon the soldiers and people, to whom, it galled their pride to be compelled to confess, they were mainly indebted for the recovery of their national independence. They did not want plausible excuses either for their enmity towards the British army. The horrors enacted at St Sebastian by some of the furious soldiers—who, during five hours of dreadful battle at the breach, had seen nearly 3000 men struck down around them by the fierce destruction vomited forth from the at last captured town—were published with many exaggerations by the municipality of the ill-fated city, and created naturally a strong sensation throughout Spain. The town, it was well known, had been fired by the French garrison as they retired through it to the citadel; but the fact was purposely concealed, and every horror of the fearful time—flame, robbery, murder—were attributed, not alone to the infuriated ruffians who had perpetrated the outrages, but to the entire soldiery: a gross injustice, the mass of the troops, as well as the officers who risked their lives, and in two instances lost them, to calm the dreadful tumult, being as indignant at the excesses committed as the Spaniards themselves could be. Two-thirds of the officers of the storming force were unfortunately killed or hurt, and it was for some hours impossible to maintain or restore discipline. Lord Wellington was not present on the day of the successful assault, although he had intended to be so, when, angered by the former failure of the 5th division, he issued his requisition, demanding fifteen volunteers from each of the regiments composing the 1st, 4th, and light divisions—'men who could shew other troops how to mount a breach'—an appeal answered by

750 gallant men, who nearly all perished. Sir Thomas Graham (Lord Lynedoch) commanded, but the day after the assault Wellington arrived: some severe examples were made, and order was restored with a rigorous, unsparing hand. These calumnies on the army appear to have irritated the British general much more than the numerous libels directed personally against himself. Amongst other things he was accused of plotting to get himself made king of Spain by the nobles, and some of the *grandees* thought it worth while to publish a solemn contradiction of the rumour. The quarrel became at last so envenomed, that when about to enter France he fully expected a civil war to break out upon his communications, and wrote home that if he were the government the army should not remain in the country another hour. Happily these disputes were checked before they could break out into open violence: the mass of the population, the soldiers, and regimental officers had no confidence but in his leadership; the turbulent spirits of the Cortes were overawed, and decorum, if not content, was re-established.

The French Emperor sent Soult from Germany, with full powers as his lieutenant to take the command of all the French troops in Spain, in order if possible to arrest the conquering march of Wellington upon France. This task Soult gallantly, if vainly, attempted. But the hour of defeat had struck. Step by step all intervening obstacles, whether of man or nature, were pushed aside or overleaped, and in November 1813 the standards that three years before had floated over the last dike at Torres-Vedras, which withstood the irruptive torrent of the Imperial armies, now waved in retributive triumph over the vainly-imagined 'sacred soil' from whence the armed invasion had come forth. We need not further dwell upon the incidents of a struggle, terminated by the bitter fight before Toulouse, that, during six years, had desolated the Peninsula. Enough has been written to shew how terrible was the strife, and how great and constant were the skill and courage ultimately crowned with victory.

The peace of 1814 terminated the war, it was hoped permanently, and the British troops returned home. Their renowned commander was created, on the 3d of May of that year, Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington; and in June £400,000, making, with the previous grant of £100,000, half a million of money, was awarded him by the House of Commons. On the 28th of the same month the Duke took his seat in the House of Peers, and subscribed the parliamentary-roll, the patents of all his titles having been first read by the officer of the House.

The Duke of Wellington was at the Congress of Kings in Vienna when the news of Bonaparte's return from Elba startled the world from its transient dream of peace, and speedily afterwards we find him in Belgium, to use his own expression, at the head -with the exception of his old soldiers who had fought in Spain- 'of the most infamous army in the world.' The British troops with the Duke, it must be remembered, did not exceed 35,000 men, the rest of the army, with some brilliant exceptions, being composed of troops better fitted for a parade than a stubborn battle. Had the 70,000 men led by Wellington been all men who had gone through the fiery ordeal of the Peninsular campaigns, it is no disparagement to the unquestionable bravery of the French army-many of whom were mere

conscripts—to say that the struggle would have been nothing like so long and obstinate as it proved.

The events of the 16th and 18th of June 1815 are too familiar to every reader in the British Empire to need recapitulation here. There is, however, one circumstance in connection with them, with respect to which delusion still extensively prevails, chiefly perhaps because some of Lord Byron's best verses chronicle the fiction: we mean those relative to the way in which the Duke of Wellington and his officers are represented as being suddenly startled by the sound of cannon whilst dancing—unconscious of the approach of danger—at the Duchess of Richmond's ball on the night of the 16th, at Brussels. They commence thus—

‘ There was a sound of revelry by night ; ’

and presently we are told that, amidst the voluptuous swell of music the sudden booming of the French artillery arrested the flying feet of the dancers, paled the cheeks of the fair dames, and pressed innumerable sighs from out young hearts. Nothing can be prettier, only there is not a particle of truth in the story. It would have been odd if there were, the French attack on the Prussians at Charleroi commencing in the morning and closing before dark: the echoes of the ‘ opening roar ’ of the guns must have taken an immense time on the road only to reach Brussels at midnight. But the truth is, that long before a ball-candle was lighted, or a ball-dress fitted on, every officer and man in the army knew of the attack of the French on the Sambre, and had received orders from the quartermaster to be in readiness to march at daybreak. The last order issued by the Duke of Wellington on the evening of the ball was dated ‘ à Bruxelles, ce 15 Juin, 9½ p.m. ’ and directs the Duc de Berri to send what force he had to Alost by daybreak. Brunswick's ‘ fated chieftain ’ had, before going to the ‘ surprise ’-ball, directed his corps, by order of the British field-marshal, to assemble and bivouac on the high-road between Brussels and Bivorde, in readiness for the march at dawn. Provided the invited officers had made the necessary preparations for departure, there could be no possible objection to their attending the ball for a few hours—the reverse rather; for men do not now, any more than in the days of paladins and tournaments, fight the less bravely for the actual or recent presence of graceful and beautiful women. The whole story is an invention, not one whit truer than the words ascribed to the Duke of Wellington during the great fight, ‘ Would that the night or Blucher were come ! ’ And, in truth, spite of all the fables and assumptions of both French and Prussian writers—excusable perhaps under the circumstances—Blucher's army took no effective part in the fight, invaluable as they proved themselves in the pursuit. If this were not so, the Prussian authorities would scarcely have studiously omitted to publish an official list of their killed and wounded in the battle.

The capitulation of Paris, agreed to between Marshal Davoust, Prince of Eckmühl, acting on behalf of the provisional government, at the head of which was Fouché, Duc d'Angoulême, and Wellington and Blucher, was signed on the 3d of July 1815, and the French army occupying Paris retired beyond the Loire.

Two days after the Convention was signed, Marshal Ney, who, on being intrusted by Louis XVIII. with the command of a body of troops to arrest

the march of Napoleon upon Paris, had solemnly promised the Bourbon monarch to bring his old master to Paris in an iron cage, and afterwards went over with his troops to the returned Emperor, obtained a passport of Fouché, Duc d'Otrante, in a feigned name, with the purpose of escaping from France. He might have succeeded; but foolishly dallying with opportunity, he was recognised, and arrested by one Locard at an obscure cabaret in the wildest part of old Auvergne, and brought back to Paris. He was tried by order of the restored government before the Chamber of Peers for high treason, and sentenced to death. During the trial nothing was heard with respect to Ney being protected by the 12th article of the capitulation of Paris, which set forth in substance that every person in the capital should continue in possession of their rights and liberties, and should not be pursued or disquieted for any political acts they might have committed, nor on account of any post they might have filled, nor for the political opinions they entertained; but as soon as sentence was pronounced, the condemned marshal appealed to Wellington for protection under the capitulation. The Duke replied that the Convention of Paris guaranteed the inhabitants of Paris only against being disquieted or injured by the military authority of those who signed it, and could not be considered as at all binding on the French government. He therefore refused to interfere.

The English field-marshal was appointed, by the unanimous consent and approbation of the powers, to command the Allied Army of Observation, a delicate and onerous duty, which he discharged in the most satisfactory and efficient manner; and on the final evacuation of France on the 1st of November 1818, he returned to England, and soon afterwards entered Lord Liverpool's cabinet as Master-General of the Ordnance. An extra grant of £200,000 was voted him in 1815, making in all £700,000 in money, besides the pension of £2000 a year, and many lucrative appointments bestowed upon him by the government—an amount of pecuniary reward as unexampled as the military services it recompensed.

The remainder of his Grace's career belongs to the civil history of the country, and we the less regret the want of space necessary for the briefest review of it, as it has been already written in that of Sir Robert Peel, by whose judgment his Grace, as minister, was constantly guided. Since that great man's death, the Duke has seldom spoken in parliament. One of the last speeches he delivered in the House of Peers was spoken in a voice broken with emotion. Yet he seemed to stand more erect than he had lately done, and his eyes kindled somewhat with their old fire as, looking round with a sort of defiance upon the assembly—many of whom he knew were in the bitterness of their political opposition almost personal enemies of his deceased friend—he pronounced the emphatic eulogium upon Sir Robert Peel, that he, above all men he ever knew, was governed in every action of his life by a love of TRUTH and JUSTICE.

The qualities, mental and moral, of the illustrious field-marshal, are written in such firm and vivid characters in his life, that none but the wilfully blind can fail to perceive their significance and appreciate their value. That he was a magnificent leader of armies, a general marvellously skilled in the art of handling troops in the field, and strong to encounter and overcome adverse fortune by indomitable courage and unswerving constancy,

It is as undeniably true as that he is in no sense a great statesman. There is no breadth, no largeness in his notions and maxims of civil polity: he appears to have no faith in the progress of humanity, no feeling of the strength and majesty of moral power. It may serve to illustrate the routine habit of his mind, when employed on other than strictly professional questions, that he lays it down repeatedly over and over again in his voluminous correspondence, that the alliance of Portugal is before all others important to the interests and welfare of this country. But, with all this, the record of his life is a great epitaph. We have run it over briefly—faithfully: we do not dip our pencil in fancy lines, in order to write fantastic panegyrics on his name; but we not the less hold it to be certain, that the name of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, will, whenever uttered in ages yet to come, recall the memory of a great soldier, and an earnest-minded though not eminent statesman.

The Duke of Wellington's titles and offices are perhaps the most exalted and numerous ever conferred upon a single individual. We subjoin the list: Duke and Viscount Wellington; Baron Douro; Knight of the Garter, and Grand Cross of the Bath; Prince of Waterloo in the Netherlands; Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Grandee of Spain; Duke of Vittoria; Marquis of Torres-Vedras; Count Vimeira in Portugal; Knight of the foreign orders of the Guelph of Hanover, St Andrew of Russia, the Black Eagle of Prussia, the Golden Fleece of Spain, the Elephant of Denmark, St Ferdinand of Merit, and St Januarius of the Two Sicilies, Maximilian-Joseph of Bavaria, Maria-Theresa of Austria, the Sword of Sweden, of William of the Netherlands; Field-Marshal in the armies of Austria, Russia, Prussia, Portugal, the Netherlands; Captain-General of Spain; Commander-in-chief; Colonel of Grenadier Guards, Colonel in-chief of Rifle Brigade; Constable of the Tower and Dover Castle; Warden of the Cinque Ports; Lord-Lieutenant of Hampshire and the Tower Hamlets, Chancellor of the University of Oxford; Master of Trinity House, Vice-President of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy; Governor of King's College; and D.C.L.

